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THE  
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 OF THE  
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## I.

### THE COINAGE OF LYCIA, TO THE TIME OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

(Plates I., II.)

THE article of M. J. P. Six on "*Monnaies Lyciennes*," in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1886 and 1887, first systematized the study of the early coinage of Lycia, the foundation of which had already been laid by Sir Charles Fellows. Since then the only important contribution to the subject has been made by M. Babelon, in the last volume of the *Catalogue des Monnaies grecques* in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>1</sup>

M. Babelon appears to have accepted in the main the chronological arrangement of M. Six. The fact that since 1887 a number of new coins have come to light must be my excuse for attempting a rearrangement of the chronological relations of the various series.

I have approached this task mainly with a view to setting forth the numismatic evidence, independently of that of inscriptions. In the great uncertainty which still attaches to the interpretation of the latter, it is as well

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<sup>1</sup> *Les Perses Achéménides, &c.*, Paris, 1893. Hereafter quoted simply as "Paris."



that they should only be taken as evidence when they corroborate the testimony of coins.

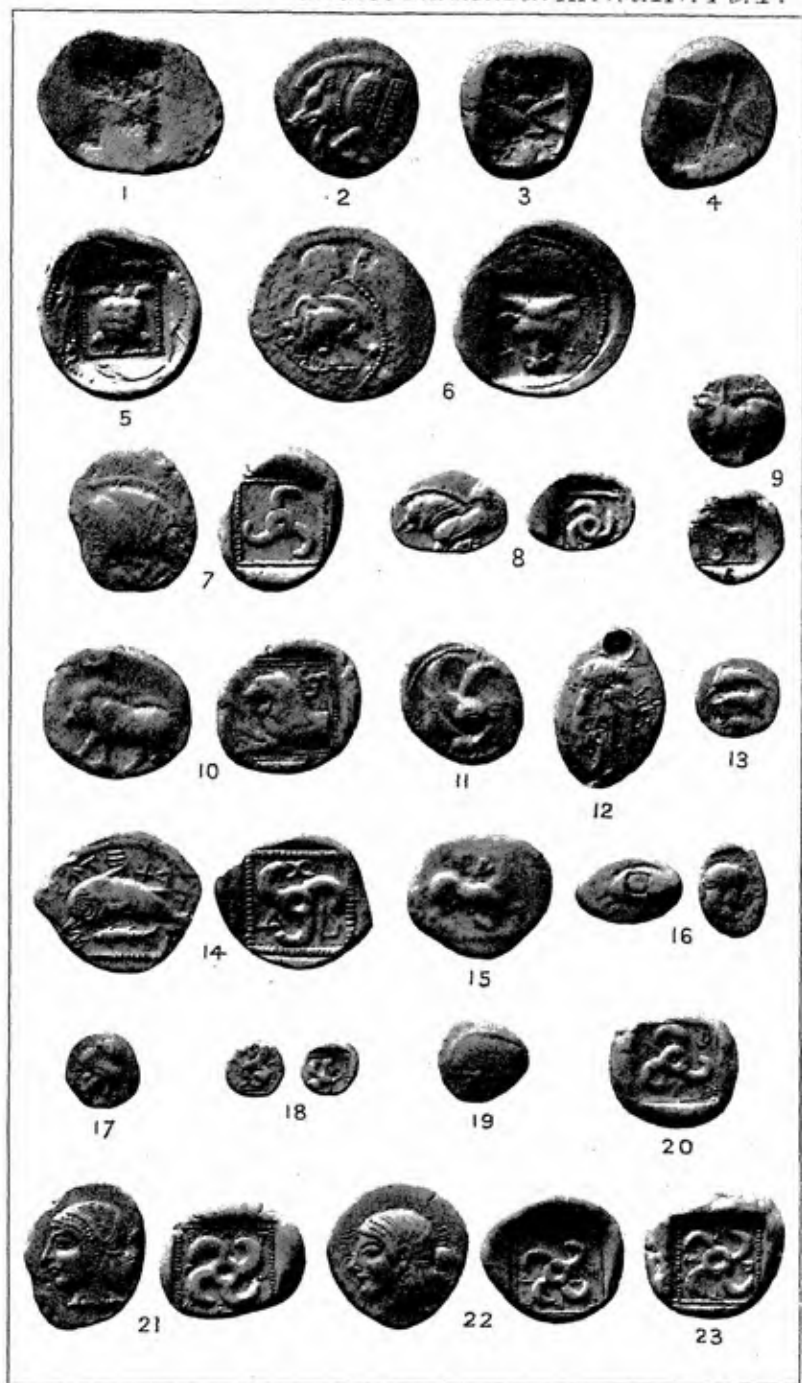
An additional object of this essay is to complete, so far as possible, the list of M. Six by noting all varieties and new coins which have appeared since his article, and so to furnish further material for the classification of this enigmatical coinage. The coinage of Phaselis, as standing apart from the general series of Lycia, has not been dealt with here.

I must here record my obligation to Mr. W. Arkwright, by whose work (both published and unpublished) I have been largely guided in the transcription of Lycian characters.

The whole series, from the staters of the late sixth century down to the coins of Pericles, may be divided as follows:—

- I.—*Circa* B.C. 520—480. Series with irregular incuse (uninscribed and inscribed), and with incuse decorated with various patterns.
- II.—*Circa* B.C. 500—460. Series with *obv.*: boar, forepart of boar, or other animal, and *rev.*: animal type (to which may be added two coins with human heads on the reverse).
- III.—*Circa* B.C. 500—460. Forepart of boar, or whole boar, or other animal type, on *obverse*, with triskeles on *reverse*.
- IV.—*Circa* B.C. 480—390. The main series of inscribed coins.
- V.—*Circa* B.C. 395—350. The latest autonomous silver and earlier copper, in which the lion's scalp is the most frequent type of the obverse.

As regards the first three series I have attempted to give a complete classification. In the fourth and fifth I have only noted additions to Six's list.



ADYOTYPE

LYCIAN COINS.



## I.—SERIES DATING CIRCA B.C. 520—480.

A. *Series with irregular incuse reverse.*



## Uninscribed.

1. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar r., r. leg visible.*Rev.*—Rude incuse square.Six, No. 31. *Cf.* Paris, Pl. X. 18.     *Æ.* Stater, 136·2 grains.

2. Similar.

Six, No. 4.     *Æ.* Diobol, 20·8 grains.

## Inscribed.


3. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar l.; l. leg visible. Truncation dotted.On neck . On the flank, traces of an inscription [K]  B?*Rev.*—Rude incuse square.Six, No. 30. Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. 3, 34.     *Æ.* Stater, 138·4 grains.B. *Series with incuse reverse, decorated.*

This series contains a number of coins with oddly ornamented reverses, which seem to show a regular development.

i. "Crossed" incuse. Type (a).

4. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar l., both legs visible. Line of dots on neck.*Rev.*—Rude incuse square decorated with four lines which cross in the centre, forming small triangles having their bases on the sides of the incuse square.Six, No. 8. (?) Paris, Pl. X. 19.     *Æ.* Stater, 9·48 grammes.

The stater described by Six as No. 9 has on the

shoulder of the animal the sign . In some examples the lower parts of the triangles are filled by projections from the sides of the incuse square. In another the truncation of the obverse type is decorated with a row of dots between two lines, as on the **KVB** coins: **Æ**. Stater, 142.5 grains. Pl. I. 1.

### Type (b).

#### a. **KVB** series.

5. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar l., both feet visible; row of dots on neck, and truncation marked with row of dots between two lines. On flank **K[VB]**.

*Rev.*—Incuse square as in Type (a) but ruder, and vacant parts filled with bars.

Six, No. 13. **Æ**. Stater, 144.1 grains. Pl. I. 3.

There are several varieties of this type, the legend being found retrograde (*cf.* Paris, Pl. XI. 3). The incuse shows a transition from type (a) to a later type (c). The second letter of the inscription on Six, No. 11, is obliterated; but the legend seems to have been **SVK**, not **SVX** or **KVB**. *Cf.* also No. 3.

Six, No. 11. **Æ**. 143 grains. Pl. I. 2.

#### β. Other letters.

6. *Obv.*—Similar, but on flank **Π** or **ΠV**

*Rev.*—Similar.

Six, 6 and 7. Paris, X. 20 and 21. **Æ**. Stater.

### Type (c).

#### (a) Uninscribed.

7. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar l., both legs visible. Row of dots on neck, and truncation marked as in Type (b) a.

*Rev.*—Incuse square with two lines crossing in centre, lower part of one triangle filled; on each side, projection.

*R.* Stater, 145·4 grains. Pl. I. 4.

8. *Obv.*—Head of boar l., neck dotted.

*Rev.*—Similar.

Six, No. 28.

*R.* Tetrobol, 42·2 grains.

( $\beta$ ) Inscribed.

Several varieties exist, with  $\odot$  or  $\odot\propto$  in various positions on obverse and reverse, or on reverse only (*cf.* Paris, Pl. XI. 4, 5). For other letters, see Six, Nos. 21—29. From the fact that the letters  $\odot\propto$  occur in countermarks on the sigli of Artaxerxes I., M. Babelon would place this series about 460. Their style, however, would seem to indicate a considerably earlier date.

Type (*d*). Forepart of winged boar.

9. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged boar l.

*Rev.*—Incuse square of Type (*a*) or (*b*).

Six, No. 34. Pl. VII. 8.

*R.* Stater, 8·82 grammes.

ii. "Barred" incuse.

10. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar l., both feet visible. On the shoulder, T.

*Rev.*—Incuse square, decorated with pattern consisting of a large pellet, from which project two lines forming the letter  $\Lambda$ ; the whole interrupting a set of four parallel bars running across the field.

Six, No. 17. *Cf.* Paris, Pl. XI. 1.

*R.* Stater, 145·2 grains.

There are others which appear to bear no letters on the obverse. Six explains the marks on the reverse as

equivalent to 9 Aeginetic obols (= 1 Lycian stater of 144 grains). But similar lines appear, at least on one specimen, in the vacant parts of the incuse of No. 5 *supra* (a coin of the **KVB** series), and the decoration is surely a mere variant of that which is found on the reverses of the early Persian coinage.

This series is quite as early as, and perhaps even earlier than, the series with rude, undecorated incuses.

iii. At the end of this series I would place the Paris stater (No. 435, Pl. XI. 6), on the reverse of which Six and Babelon have, perhaps somewhat fancifully, seen a representation of the head of the Minotaur. The obverse resembles the type of No. 1. The radiating pattern, which Six first suggested was meant to represent the Cretan labyrinth, may, in the light of the great variety of ornaments used in Lycia to fill the incuse square, be better explained, I think, as merely ornamental. At the same time the bull's head connects this coin with the series described below, II. D.

## II.—SERIES DATING CIRCA B.C. 500—460.

*Obv.*—Forepart of boar, or the whole animal.

*Rev.*—Incuse square (usually dotted) containing an animal type; to which may be added two coins with the human head. These two belong to the earliest part of this period.

A. *Forepart of boar.*—*Lion's head.*

1. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar, 1.

*Rev.*—Head of lion, facing, in dotted incuse square.

Six, No. 67. Imhoof. *R.* Tetrobol, 2.66 grammes.

This is earlier than the series with the forepart of the boar and tortoise, one of which series is apparently struck on a coin similar to this. Six compares the reverse to the coins of Samos earlier than 439 B.C.

B. *Forepart of boar.—Eagle's head.*

2. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar, l. Fine style.

*Rev.*—Head of eagle, l., in dotted incuse square. Restruck on coin with type of triskeles of cocks' heads (III. F.).

Six, 51. *Z. f. N.* VI. Pl. III. 28. *R.* Stater, 9·60 grammes.

*Cf.* also Six, 49 and 50.

C. a. *Boar.—Tortoise.*

3. *Obv.*—Boar walking r. Border of dots.

*Rev.*—Tortoise in dotted incuse square.

Six, 61. *Paris*, Pl. XI. 12. *R.* Stater, 9·31 grammes.

4. *Obv.*—Boar, l., head lowered.

*Rev.*—Tortoise in dotted incuse square.

*R.* Stater, 141·9 grains. *Pl. I.* 5.

Restruck on what appears to be a stater of Acanthus, of the style of the tetradrachms earlier than 500 B.C. This denomination has hitherto been unrepresented in the series of Acanthus. Similar coins are restruck on coins of the following types:—

*Obv.*—Forepart of boar.

*Rev.*—Triskeles in dotted incuse square.

And

*Obv.*—Forepart of boar.

*Rev.*—Head of lion, jaws open; in linear border in incuse square.



Six has also one restruck on the following coin :

*Obv.*—Forepart of boar, r., and traces of another type.

*Rev.*—Triskeles, r. (T)  $\times$  N  $\uparrow$  (VOP  $\uparrow$ ); in dotted incuse square.

[Six, Pl. X. 3.]

The coins of the dynast to whom Six gives this coin belong, however, to the second part of the fifth century at the earliest.

C. b. *Forepart of boar.*—Tortoise.

5. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar, r.

*Rev.*—Tortoise in dotted incuse square.

Six, No. 63. Paris, Pl. XI. 15.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Tetrobol, 3.08 grammes.

A diobol of the same type is known (Paris, Pl. XI. 16); also a tetrobol and diobol with the type of the obverse to the left. One is perhaps struck on an example of No. 1.

D. a. *Forepart of boar.*—Head and neck of bull.

6. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar l., both legs visible. Good style.

*Rev.*—Head and neck of bull l., in dotted incuse square.

Six, No. 47.

$\mathcal{R}$ . Stater, 9.05 grammes.

*Cf.* I. B. iii.

D. b. *Boar.*—Head and neck of bull.

7. *Obv.*—Boar l., head lowered.

*Rev.*—Head and neck of bull r., head facing, in dotted incuse square. In field r.,  $\times$ .

Six, No. 72. Paris, Pl. XI. 17.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Stater, 9.00 grammes.

In this monogram Six (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 253) is inclined to see the initials of the city of Physcus; but it

is not certain that it is a monogram at all, or that the letters it represents are Greek. It must stand beside the other unexplained signs which occur on the early coins of this part of Asia Minor. *Cf.* the countermarks on the Persian sigli (Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, Pl. XXXIX., Nos. 29 and 30).

E. 1. *Boar*.—*Bull's head*.

8. *Obv.*—Boar standing r. Border of dots. Style of the coins of series C a.

*Rev.*—Bull's head facing; on either side, +. Incuse square.

Six, No. 55.                      R. Stater, 135·7 grains. Pl. I. 6.

This coin appears to be struck on one somewhat similar to, but of course earlier than Six, No. 104 (see *infra* IV. W. β.), the obverse type, however, being to the right.

E. 2. *Bull*.—*Bull's head*.

9. *Obv.*—Bull kneeling r., looking back. Border of dots.

*Rev.*—Bull's head facing, in dotted incuse square.

Six, No. 54; Paris, Pl. XI. 8.                      R. Stater, 9·10 grammes.

Restruck on a coin of the Series III. A.

E. 3. *Bull*.—*Ram's head*.

10. *Obv.*—As No. 9.

*Rev.*—Ram's head l. (truncation dotted) in dotted incuse square.

Six, No. 52; Paris, Pl. XI. 7.                      R. Stater, 9·45 grammes.

11. *Obv.*—Bull kneeling r., on dotted exergual line, head reverted. Border of dots.

*Rev.*—Ram's head, as No. 10.

B. M.                                      R. Stater, 141 grains.

The close inter-connection between the three classes of coins last described points to their belonging to a single mint. In fact, all the coins of the series C, D, and E, which I have seen, show the same style, and in spite of the variety of types, I am inclined to attribute them to the same place.

F. *Boar*.—*Forepart of griffin*.

12. *Obv.*—Boar standing r.

*Rev.*—Forepart of griffin r., in linear border in incuse square.

*Num. Chron.*, 1890, Pl. I., 19. *R.* Tetrobol, 38·2 grains.

*Cf. Six*, No. 73 (dotted incuse square).

G. *Boar*.—*Head of Ares*.

13. *Obv.*—Boar l., rubbing snout against foreleg. (Style of the coins of Methymna, B.C. 500—480.)

*Rev.*—Bearded male head l., in crested Corinthian helmet. Truncation of neck dotted. The whole in dotted incuse square. Very fine archaic work.

*Six*, No. 75; *Paris*, Pl. XI. 18. *R.* Stater, 9·18 grammes.

With the type of the reverse compare the Paris stater (No. 497, Pl. XII. 26) of Khäriga. This coin may, with probability, be assigned to an early dynast of Xanthus. In style it differs somewhat from the preceding series, the work being finer.

H. *Boar*.—*Male head*.

14. *Obv.*—Boar l., rubbing snout against foreleg.

*Rev.*—Bearded head l., hair represented by parallel granular lines. Dotted incuse square.

*Paris*, Pl. XII. 8.

*R.* Diobol, 1·85 grammes.

## III.—SERIES DATING CIRCA B.C. 500—460.

This series comprises the earlier coins with the triskeles,<sup>2</sup> which cannot, owing to the absence of inscriptions, be attributed to particular dynasts.

## A.—Forepart of boar; triskeles.

1. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar r., both legs visible, dots on shoulder.

*Rev.*—Triskeles r., in linear border in incuse square.

Six, No. 40.

R. Stater, 149·8 grains.

One of slightly later style, with the obverse type to l., and the truncation dotted, is at Paris (Pl. XIII. 1). A tetrobol of similar style in the British Museum, obverse type r., reverse triskeles l., and border dotted, introduces us to the dotted border, which is characteristic of all the later triskeles coins. Compare also the recently-acquired coin.

2. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar r., truncation dotted. On the neck, two lines crossing so as to form a large X.

*Rev.*—Triskeles r. in dotted incuse square.

R. Stater. 125·2 grains. Pl. I. 7.

---

<sup>2</sup> I do not know why the form *triskelis* has taken such firm root in numismatic English. There is no Greek or Latin authority in my knowledge for such a form. The word *triquetra*, again, which is often used to describe this symbol, whether the members take the shape of feet or not, means properly a triangular object. And the name *tetraquetra* is a hybrid which may be relinquished to the natural historians who seem to have invented it. I have used the terms *diskeles*, *triskeles*, *tetraskeles* (σcil. σύμβολον) throughout this paper, understanding by them the characteristically Lycian forms consisting of a central annulet from which radiate two, three, or four curved members. On one coin at least a *monoskeles* makes its appearance (IV. S. α). On others the symbol has not the characteristic Lycian form (e.g. IV. C).

The forepart of the boar, which is seldom found on coins later than about 480 B.C., occurs on the coins of the dynasts Kuprlli (Six 133, 134) and Tātthiväibi (Six 124, 125), and of the city of Patara (Six 123 — see *infra* p. 32). The last is the latest instance of its occurrence (*circ.* B.C. 440).

B. *Forepart of winged boar.—Triskeles.*

8. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged boar l., both feet visible.

*Rev.*—Triskeles l. in linear border in incuse square. Inscription uncertain.

Six, No. 45; Fellows XIV. 4.     *R.* Stater, 148 grains.

4. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged boar l.

*Rev.*—Triskeles (same form as on coins of Series IV. E.) l., in linear border in incuse square.

*R.* Tetrobol, 45·2 grains. Pl. I. 8.

*Cf.* I. B. i. Type (*d.*)

C. *Two foreparts of boars.—Triskeles.*

5. *Obv.*—Two foreparts of boars conjoined, walking r. and l. on dotted exergual line. On junction, triskeles r.

*Rev.*—Triskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

Six, No. 79.     *R.* Stater, 130·4 grains.

D. a. *Boar.—Triskeles. (Incuse square.)*

6. *Obv.*—Boar walking r.; line of dots on shoulder.

*Rev.*—Triskeles r., in dotted incuse square.

Six, No. 70.     *R.* Stater, 130·4 grains.

The British Museum has two tetrobols and a diobol of this series. A diobol in Paris (Pl. XIII. 4) has a triskeles above the boar on the obverse.

There are also varieties which are inscribed; *e.g.* at

Paris (No. 453, Pl. XI. 22). **OM** may be an abbreviation of the Lycian name for Myra,<sup>3</sup> or of the name of the dynast Mutlōi (see *infra*, IV. B.).

D. β. Boar.—*Triskeles*. (*Incuse circle*.)

7. *Obv.*—Boar walking r.; on flank, triskeles; border of dots.

*Rev.*—Triskeles r., in dotted incuse circle.

Restruck on coin with incuse square.

Six, 82; Paris, Pl. XIII. 6.     *℞.* Tetrobol, 2.78 grammes.

8. Similar, but with no triskeles or border on obverse.

Six, 83; Paris, Pl. XIII. 7.     *℞.* Obol, 0.67 grammes.

These coins seem, so far as it is possible to judge from photographic reproductions, to belong to the few exceptions to the rule that the incuse circle does not appear before the end of the fifth century.

A comparison with the coinage of Cyrene (Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 728, 729) and other places shows that an incuse circle, of the kind produced by striking a type surrounded with a border of dots on a comparatively thin flan, does occur as early as the second third of the fifth century. I would, therefore, place these coins at about 450 B.C. at the latest, subject, however, to the reservation that better preserved specimens may point to a later date.

E. Boar.—*Shield with double diskeles*.

9. *Obv.*—Forepart of boar l. (style of III. A.)

*Rev.*—Round shield, on which triskeles r.; behind it two diskelē crossed. The whole in dotted incuse square.

Paris, Pl. XII. 2.     *℞.* Stater, 9.72 grammes.

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
<sup>3</sup> Deecke, *Bezz. Beitr.*, 1887, p. 135.

Fellows (Pl. XVI. 2) publishes a coin with the obverse type of a boar walking l., but reverse similar to the above. Six, No. 84. *Æ.* Stater, 9·17 grammes.

It is difficult to accept the view of M. Six (p. 171), that the type of the round shield bearing a device was borrowed by the Lycians from the coinage of Elis towards the end of the fifth century. The Lycian coins with this kind of type (which, after all, is only natural in the neighbourhood of Caria, where shield-devices are said to have been first used<sup>4</sup>) seem very much earlier than the similar coins of Elis. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to deny originality to the Lycians in this respect.

F. *Boar.*—*Triskeles decorated with cocks' heads.*

10. *Obv.*—Boar walking r.; border of dots.

*Rev.*—Triskeles, decorated with cocks' heads, r. In field,  
 The whole in dotted incuse square.

Six, 56, 57; cf. Paris, Pl. XI. 21. *Æ.* Stater, 144·8 grains.

11. Similar, but without letters.

Six, 59; Paris, Pl. XII. 1. *Æ.* Tetrobol, 2·78 grammes.


A stater of this type in the Paris Collection is struck on a coin of the **KVB** type. This series also is partly earlier than II. B. A tetrobol in the British Museum (Pl. I. 9) differs from that described above in the fact that its obverse is struck from the same die as a stater also in the British Museum, only part of the body of the boar appearing on the flan. This use of the die of a large denomination to strike a coin of a smaller denomination is uncommon in Greek coinage, except in barbarous districts.

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<sup>4</sup> Hdt. i, 171: καὶ γὰρ . . . Κᾶρές εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες . . . ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖσθαι.

M. Diamantaras publishes in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for 1893 (p. 557) the following tetrobol:—

12. *Obv.*—Boar standing r.

*Rev.*—Triskeles decorated with cocks' heads, with inscription  $\infty$  EB . The whole in incuse square.

*R.* Tetrobol, 2.80 grammes.

G. *Boar.*—Forepart of lion with triskeles.

18. *Obv.*—Boar l.; on the flank, triskeles r.

*Rev.*—Forepart of lion l., jaws open. In field, r., triskeles r. Border of two parallel lines with cross lines between them (*cf.* the coin of Kuprlli, Paris, 478, Pl. XIII. 18). The whole in incuse square.

Six, 77; Paris, Pl. XI. 19. *R.* Stater, 9.50 grammes.

On two coins (one belonging to Six, one in the British Museum), on the obverse, the head and right foreleg of a boar are repeated above and at right angles to the main type. This is not due to restriking, as it occurs on more than one coin, and is of a different character and size from the head of the type proper.

14. *R.* Stater, 143.4 grains. Pl. I. 10.

H. *Boar.*—Triskeles.

15. *Obv.*—Boar walking l.

*Rev.*—Triskeles l. In the angles, a duck or ibis l., and two uncertain objects (one a branch?). Linear border in incuse square.

Mr. H. Montagu's collection. *R.* Diobol, 22.9 grains.

I. *Lion.*—Triskeles.

16. *Obv.*—Lion crouching l., looking back.

*Rev.*—Triskeles l., in linear border in incuse square.

Six, No. 44, Pl. VII. 10. *R.* Stater, 8.63 grammes.



J. *Dog.*—*Triskeles*.

17. *Obv.*—Dog lying r., head on paws.

*Rev.*—*Triskeles* r., in dotted incuse square.

Paris, Pl. XIII. 5.      *R.* Diobol, 1.50 grammes.

#### IV.—SERIES DATING CIRCA B.C. 480—390.

In this division I range the series of coins struck by dynasts and cities from about 480 to the early years of the fourth century, reserving the "lion's scalp" series for a fifth class. In naming the various series I have, as a rule, merely transliterated the legends as they stand, instead of attempting to supply the nominatives, of which the legends probably represent oblique cases.




A. *ÖKUVÖML*. *Circ.* B.C. 480.

1. *Obv.*—Boar walking l.

*Rev.*— K ° F   E. *Triskeles* l., in dotted incuse square.

Six, 86.      *R.* Stater, 148 grains.

2. *Obv.*—Bull butting l.

*Rev.*— K ° F   E *Triskeles* r. in dotted incuse square.

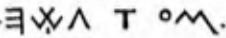
Six, 88. *Imh. Ch.* V. 157.      *R.* Tetrobol, 8.00 grammes.

At Abydos are two Carian inscriptions which Sayce<sup>5</sup> reads *U-kh-o-ve U-a-kh-ä-v-mi-g* (the second *u* may be *h*) and *U-kh-ü-v-e U-a-kh-ä-v-mi-(g)u(P)-th*.

<sup>5</sup> Tr. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. IX., pp. 148, 150; IV. 11 and 20.

B. MUTLÖI. *Circ.* B.C. 480.

*Obv.*—Uncertain design, consisting of a striated oblong, on which is a circular boss, which bears a small triskeles l., and from which issue two curved and tapering wing-like objects. Border of dots.

*Rev.*— Triskeles l. Dotted incuse square.

Six, 85. *R.* Stater, 110·6 grains. Pl. I. 11.


The first two letters of this name occur on a coin mentioned above (III. D. a, p. 13). The object on the obverse seems to me to be certainly not the forepart of a griffin. The marks on the reverse, which look like E reversed, are part of the oblong object which appears more distinctly on the left.

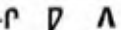
C. UTÄVÖ. *Circ.* B.C. 470.

This dynast is only represented by the Paris stater (Pl. XII. 6). The diskeles on the reverse is not of the ordinary Lycian type, having no central ring.

## D. DYNASTS OF APERLAE.

Anonymous. B.C. 480—460.


(i.) *Obv.*—Dolphin to r. above dolphin to l. Below, human eye (?)  Border of dots.

*Rev.*— Triskeles l. in dotted incuse square.

Six, 112. *R.* Stater, 148·7 grains.

The same symbol occurs in combination with the dolphin at Side, in Pamphylia.

(ii.) *Obv.*—Dolphin to l. above dolphin to r. Below, human eye (?).

*Rev.*— Triskeles l. in dotted incuse square.

*R.* Diobol, 17.4 grains. Pl. I. 13.

This is of rather later style than the preceding.

(iii.) *Obv.*—Hermes (?) standing to r., clad in chlamys, and carrying ram on his shoulder; l. hand grasps its legs in front; in r. uncertain object.

*Rev.*— Triskeles l. in dotted incuse square.

Six, 113. *R.* Stater, 125 grains (pierced). Pl. I. 12.

Compare also the coins with type of forepart of stag and diskeles (*W. a.*).

M. Babelon hesitates to recognise in the inscription on these coins the name of Aperlae, because the type of the two dolphins occurs with the name of the dynast Thap . . ., who is called "Antiphellite." But it may be that Thap . . . struck for both Antiphellus and Aperlae, as we find other dynasts striking for more than one city. Further, as I hope to show, it is not at all clear that  $F\uparrow + \Xi T\uparrow \Gamma E$  is the ethnic of Antiphellus.

E.  $\Gamma\chi\lambda$ . *Circ.* B.C. 470.

Six, Nos. 114—117.

Add to these—

*Obv.*—Dolphin r.

*Rev.*— $\Gamma$  (?) Triskeles l. in dotted incuse square.

*Cf.* Six, 116. *R.* Tetrobol, 44.4 grains.

F. THAP . . ., DYNAST OF TELMISSUS? *Circ.* B.C. 480—460.

*Obv.*— $\backslash \Gamma \uparrow T \Xi + \Lambda \neg$  Dolphin l. Below, sea-fish l. Border of dots.

*Rev.*— $\square \Delta \propto$  Triskeles r., in dotted incuse square.

Waddington coll. *R.* Stater, 154 grains. Pl. I. 14.

This coin is similar in style to the coin of Aperlae described above [D (i.)] and to the coins of Poseidion in Carpathus. It must be placed early in the fifth century B.C.

The coin described by Six under No. 111 (*Obv.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  face of Apollo; *Rev.* two dolphins in different directions in incuse square; in two angles flowers, in others pellets), and a smaller denomination with the same head on the *obv.* but *rev.* a trident, have been with probability ascribed by Svoronos to Rhaucus in Crete.<sup>6</sup> For the ornamentation of the incuse square, compare the coin of Poseidion Carpathi in Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, I. A. 32.

The word  $\text{F}\uparrow+\Xi\text{T}\uparrow\text{I}\text{E}$  occurs on coins of Khäriga (who is also called  $\text{AP}\Xi\text{M}\uparrow+\uparrow$ ) and on the epitaph of Ikttas<sup>7</sup> at Antiphellus. M. Imbert<sup>8</sup> explains it as the ethnic of Antiphellus. Some words with this termination are undoubtedly ethnics; others appear to be proper names.<sup>9</sup> At the same time it does not seem certain that M. Imbert's interpretation is correct, especially if we accept Pliny's statement that the old name of Antiphellus was Habessos. M. Six is inclined to give the coins in question to Telmissus. But no argument as to the mint can be founded on the weight of the British Museum specimen, which is in very poor condition. The coin belonging to the late M. Waddington weighs 154 grains. Apart from this, however, the word  $\text{F}\uparrow+\Xi\text{T}\uparrow\text{I}\text{E}$  occurs on a coin of Khäriga with the

<sup>6</sup> Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète anc.*, p. 305 (references), Pl. XXIX, 9 and 8.

<sup>7</sup> Savelsberg, *Beiträge zur Entzifferung der lyk. Sprachdenkm.*, 2 Th., 1878, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> See Babelon, *Les Perses Ach.*, p. c.

<sup>9</sup> See the list in M. Schmidt, *Neue Lyk. Studien* (1869), p. 91.

types: *Obv.* Female head; *Rev.* Tetraskeles, owl in centre. The obverse type is connected with the series of Tātthi-vāibi and Sppndaza. The latter name occurs in an inscription at Telmissus, if Fellows' copy is to be trusted (*Six*, No. 122). It is, then, possible to give the main series with the tetraskeles to Telmissus, though the chain of connection is certainly exceedingly slight, and the number of coins thus connected with that city is disproportionately large. I prefer, therefore, to regard the place of coinage as still uncertain.

#### G. KUPRLLI.

The coins bearing some or all the letters of this name may be divided into two issues, an earlier and a later. Whether they belong to different dynasts or cities, and whether this name is the Lycian representative of *Kύβερνις*, the name of the son of Kossikas, it is impossible to say with certainty.<sup>10</sup>

a. Earlier issue. *Circ.* B.C. 480—450.

β Six, Nos. 133—139.

To these add the coins at Paris (*Pl.* XII. 11, 12, 13; XIII. 18, 14) and a tetrobol in the British Museum:

1. *Obv.*—Human l. eye of formal shape. Traces of pellets disposed around it.

*Rev.*—Triskeles r. in dotted incuse square.

B. M. Ɱ. 40.9 grains. *Pl.* I. 19.

This is to be attributed to Kuprlli on the evidence of *Six*, No. 156 (*Fellows* XII. 8).

<sup>10</sup> The conjecture, *Kύβερνις Κοσσίκα* for *Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα* (*Hdt.* vii. 98), is due to M. *Six*. See Babelon, *Les Perses Ach.*, p. xciii.

To the same early series belongs the stater Six, No. 160 (*Obv.* Dolphin, *Rev.*  $\text{K} \circ$  Triskeles l., one branch ending in dragon's head, in dotted incuse square.  $\mathcal{R}$ . 147.3 grains). The style of the obverse of this coin is similar to the coins of  $\text{PPA}$ ,  $\infty \text{P}$ , &c.

The border on Six, No. 137 (= Paris 478, Pl. XIII. 13) occurs on the coin described above (Ser. III. G, No. 13).

$\beta$ . Later issue. *Circ.* B.C. 450—480.

Six, Nos. 140—171.

Considerable additions have to be made to this series. Paris No. 483, Pl. XII. 14 (*cf.* Six, 146); No. 484, Pl. XII. 15 (*cf.* Six, 147). And the following:—

2. *Obv.*—Horse kneeling to r., head turned l. Above, triskeles r.

*Rev.*— $\text{K}$  Triskeles r., in dotted incuse square.

B. M.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Stater, 181.3 grains. Pl. I. 15.

3. *Obv.*—Similar.

*Rev.*— $\text{K} \circ$  Triskeles r., in dotted incuse circle.

B. M. ; *Cf.* Paris, 494, Pl. XII. 28.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Tetrobol, 41.6 grains.

The animal on the obverse in the B.M. specimens is clearly a horse, but M. Babelon describes the type of the Paris coin as a stag.

4. *Obv.*—Winged and horned lion walking r.

*Rev.*— $\text{K} \circ \text{P}$  Triskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

Dr. H. Weber.  $\mathcal{R}$ . 8.3 grains.

A smaller denomination (obol) of No. 142.

5. *Obv.*—Forepart of lion r., head reverted.

*Rev.*—K ○ Π PΛ Triskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

*Cf.* Six, 155; Paris, 492, XII. 21. *Æ.* Tetrobol, 2·72 grammes.

6. *Obv.*—Bull, l.

*Rev.*—K ○ Π PΛΛ Triskeles l., in incuse square.

Paris, 485, XII. 16. *Æ.* Tetrobol, 2·42 grammes.

7. *Obv.*—Boar r. Above, triskeles r.

*Rev.*—K Triskeles r., in dotted incuse square.

*Cf.* Six, 159; B. M. *Æ.* Tetrobol, 48·5 grains.

8. *Obv.*—Herakles (as on Six, 163).

*Rev.*—K ○ Π PΛΛ E Triskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

Paris, 495, XII. 24. *Æ.* Tetrobol, 2·45 grammes.

9. Another, slightly varied.

Paris, 496, XII. 25. *Æ.* Obol, 0·52 grammes.

A tetrobol in the Bodleian collection has the legend retrograde. On most coins of this type Herakles appears to hold something in his left hand.

10. *Obv.*—Two foreparts of bulls back to back. Above, traces of triskeles r. (?).

*Rev.*—Π ○ Ξ Triskeles l., in dotted incuse circle.

*Cf.* Six, 165. B. M. *Æ.* Stater, 131·8 grains.

11. *Obv.*—Winged lion l., on round shield.

*Rev.*—K ○ Π PΛΛ E Triskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

Paris, 493, XII. 22. *Æ.* Stater, 7·68 grammes.

12. *Obv.*—Cow l., head reverted, suckling calf (?).

*Rev.*— $\text{K} \circ \text{P}$  Triskeles r. in dotted incuse square.

Paris, 486, XII. 17.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Tetrobol, 2.60 grammes.

13. *Obv.*—Sphinx with curved wings, seated r.

*Rev.*— $\text{K} \circ \text{P} \text{P}$  Triskeles l. in dotted incuse square.

B. M.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Diobol (?) 14.6 grains. Pl. I. 17.

H. a. Ukug. . . *Circ.* 470—440 B.C.

There seems no reason to doubt that this series belongs to a Lycian city or dynast. The legend and some of the types are certainly Lycian. Thus the winged human-headed bull and the seated sphinx both occur on coins of Kuprlli, the latter on a coin unknown to Six.

To Six's series 90—97 the following may be added:—

1. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged human-headed bull.

*Rev.*—Head of negress l.

Paris, 549, XV. 21.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Aegin: drachm (?) 5.80 grammes.

2. *Obv.*—Sphinx seated l., raising r. paw, on exergual line of "ladder" type, *i.e.*, two parallel lines joined by cross bars.

*Rev.*—Similar type r., in border of similar kind, the whole in incuse square.

B. M. *Cf.* Six, 105.  $\mathcal{R}$ . Obol, 11.8 grains. Pl. I. 18.

This border further connects this series with the staters described above (III. G, p. 15), and with the coinage of Kuprlli through the stater at Paris (478, XIII. 13, Six 137). There are two ordinary varieties of this coin at Paris (Pl. XV. 23 & 24).



H.  $\beta$ . UNCERTAIN.

With the series H.  $\alpha$ . must be associated a coin of about the same date.

*Obv.*—Uncertain oval object (human l. eye?), surrounded at one end by pellets; square countermark containing a round excrescence.

*Rev.*—Laureate (?) head r., hair falling in a mass on the neck (style of Six, 98). Inscription nearly obliterated:  $\Delta \dots \Pi \dots$  (?) The whole in incuse square.

B. M.     *R.* Tetrobol, 45.6 grains. Pl. I. 16.

The obverse type of this curious coin seems, from comparison with the tetrobol of the first issue of Kuprili described above (No. 1, Pl. I. 19), to be a human eye. If so, this resemblance serves to connect this series still more closely with the series of Kuprili and Ukug.

I. UĀLĀ (?). *Circ.* 450 B.C.

The legend on the coin described by Six (No. 89) is clearly  $\bigcirc \uparrow \wedge \uparrow$  or  $\uparrow \wedge \uparrow \bigcirc$  (Pl. I. 20). The engraving in Fellows (Pl. XIV. 7) is altogether inaccurate.

Another coin with the same types, but of slightly later fabric, may be described here:

*Obv.*—Forepart of bull r.

*Rev.*—Triskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

B. M.     *R.* Stater, 129 grains.

K. TÖNĀGURĀ. *Circ.* 460—420 B.C.

A coin of the boar and tortoise-type is stated by Six (No. 71) to be restruck on a coin of this dynast, three

letters of whose name are legible [See II. C. *a*, p. 8]. If this identification is certain, the coin, which bears the early type of the forepart of a boar, would belong either to an early issue of the coins of this dynast or to a predecessor of a similar name.

With the termination of the name compare the Carian inscription, which Sayce (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. ix. p. 144, Abu-Simbel I. 2) reads *A-na-go* (?) *-r-e*, comparing the Greek *Ἀνάγυρος*.

L. TÄTHTHIVÄIBI. *Circ.* B.C. 480—460.

Six, Nos. 124—131.

The following additions may be mentioned:—

124. In the Paris Collection a stater (Pl. XIII. 12), varying slightly in the legend.

125. *Cf.* a tetrobol in the Paris Collection (Pl. XII. 9) and in B. M., reading, however,  $\overline{\text{T}} \uparrow \infty \text{E}$   
 $\text{F} \uparrow \text{EBE}$  (with only one  $\infty$ ). *R.* 37·3 grains.

128. *Cf.* the triobol in the Paris Collection (Pl. XII. 10).

*Obv.*—Round shield bearing two cocks confronted, separated by  $\nabla$ .

*Rev.*— $\overline{\text{T}} \uparrow \infty \infty \text{E} \text{F} \uparrow \text{E}$  Tetraskes l., in dotted incuse square.

*R.* 2·50 grammes.

130. A fine series of staters of this type has been recently acquired by the British Museum.

(i.) *Obv.*—Female head l., the hair represented on the forehead in formal snail-shell curls; behind,

confined with three bands and lifted up in a bunch. Wears earring of peculiar shape. Truncation of neck dotted.

Rev.—T  $\uparrow \infty \infty$  EF  $\uparrow$  E BE Tetraskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

Æ. 153 grains.

(ii.) Obv.—Similar.

Rev.— $\mathfrak{E}$  [g]  $\mathfrak{E}$   $\uparrow$   $\mathfrak{E}$   $\infty \infty$   $\uparrow$  T Tetraskeles l. Spiral border.

Æ. 151.1 grains. Pl. I. 21.

A third with a varied legend. Æ. 151.6 grains.

(iii.) Obv.—(Type to r.).

Rev.—T  $\uparrow \infty \infty$  E F  $\uparrow$  E B E Tetraskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

Æ. 153.8 grains.

Another, with the legend retrograde. Æ. 153.4 grains.

The reasons (such as they are) for attributing this series, and the similar one of Sppndaza, to Telmissus, are given above (p. 19).

The heads on this series can hardly be later than 470 B.C. They may be compared with the heads on Xanthian reliefs, especially the head of a sphinx from the gable end of a tomb in the British Museum.<sup>11</sup> This head, however, differs from the coin type in the absence on the forehead of the formal curls, which are replaced by a projecting bunch of hair, in the great narrowness of the eyes, and in its flatter treatment as a whole.

<sup>11</sup> A. H. Smith, *Cat. of Archaic Greek Sculpture in the Brit. Mus.*, No. 92. The head is figured in Prachov, *Antiquissima Monumenta Xanthiaca*, Pl. 4, fig. 1.

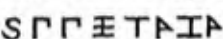
The inscriptions on these coins are slightly more archaic in character than on those of Sppndaza.

In the Paris collection (Pl. XII. 8) is a smaller denomination (diobol, 1.43 grammes) of this series.

M. SPPNDAZA. *Circ.* B.C. 470—450.

Six, Nos. 119—122.

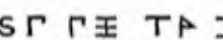
1. *Obv.*—Head of Athena l., in Athenian helmet.

*Rev.*— Tetraskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

Paris, Pl. XII. 7. *R.* 2.44 grammes.

There is a series of coins with the same types as the staters of Tāththivāibi, hitherto only represented by small coins (Six, 121, 122).

2. *Obv.*—Female head l., as on coins of Tāththivāibi.

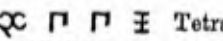
*Rev.*— Tetraskeles l.; in one angle, anchor. The whole in dotted incuse square.

*R.* 153.9 grains. Pl. I. 22.

3. Another, varied and without anchor, inscription partly obliterated.

*R.* 145.3 grains.

4. *Obv.*—Similar.

*Rev.*— Tetraskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

*R.* 152.7 grains. Pl. I. 23.

Six, 121, 122, and the coin in the Paris collection, Pl. XIII. 10, are smaller denominations of this series, varying slightly in legend.

5. *Obv.*—Similar.

*Rev.*—S ΓΡΞ ΤΑ ΙΑ Tetraskeles r., in spiral border; the whole in incuse square. (*Cf.* No. ii. of the similar series of Tāththivāibi.)

Æ. 151·6 grains.

I have discussed the question of the mint of this series above (p. 19).

N. UNCERTAIN (XANTHUS?). *Circa* 450 B.C.

*Obv.*—Female head l., hair turned up behind.

*Rev.*—A. Head and neck of horned lion r. The whole in dotted incuse square.

In the market. Æ. Obol (?). 6·7 grains. Pl. II. 2.

O. KHĀRÖL. *Circa* 450—410 B.C.

Six, Nos. 178—183.

No. 178. *Cf.* the obverse type of the coin of Tāththivāibi at Paris (Pl. XII. 10).

Traces of the  $\Psi$ , which here also occurs on the reverse, are visible between the birds. The lettering is archaic, and must belong to about the middle of the century, as is the case also with the two coins bearing satrapal heads (Six, 179, 181). The style of 179 (Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, II. A 38) is more advanced than the series with the female head belonging to Spēndaza. The obverse type seems a very careful imitation of the coins of Athens previous to 431 B.C. (but showing many features peculiar to Lycian heads, *e.g.*, the treatment of the lips, which may be compared with that on early Lycian reliefs, like the sphinx already referred to). The





marks below the neck of the goddess seem to be an ornament rather than letters, as M. Six supposes.

The number of coins of Khārōi known to me has increased, since M. Six's article appeared, from 6 to 19, and the new ones are all at Paris. They fall into two main classes.

(1) *Obv.*—Head of Athena.

*Rev.*—Head of dynast.

Varieties of type and denomination : Paris, Nos. 502—507.

To this series belong also the small coins at Paris :

No. 508. Pl. XIV. 6.

*Obv.*—Head of Dynast.

*Rev.*—Head of Athena, in dotted incuse circle.

No. 509. Pl. XIV. 7.

*Obv.*—Head of Athena.

*Rev.*— $\nabla \uparrow P \times E$  Bull, in dotted incuse square.

No. 513. Pl. XIV. 10.

*Obv.*—Head of Athena.

*Rev.*—Similar inscription, forepart of winged human-headed bull in incuse square.

(2) *Obv.*—Head of Aphrodite (?), hair taken up behind.

*Rev.*— $\nabla \uparrow P \times E$  Owl in dotted incuse square.

Paris, 510—512. Pl. XIII. 20 ; XIV. 8, 9. (Tetrobol, diobol, hemiobol.)

These correspond to a series struck by Khārīga, perhaps for Telmissus. See *infra*, p. 30.



P. KHÄRIGA. *Circ.* 410 B.C.

(1) Six, 182.

At Paris is a stater (Pl. XIII. 22) with similar types, but that on the reverse to the r., and the legend [∇↑ΡΕ]Υ↑ F↑+Ξ T↑ΙΕ. These coins belong to the tetraskeles series, and if the interpretation of F↑+Ξ T↑ΙΕ as 'Αντίφελλίτης is correct, it would seem that Khäriga struck coins for Antiphellus. But, for reasons stated above, p. 19, this interpretation is not certain. Khäriga also struck a second series (2) with the type of the head of Athena. The owl on the tetraskeles coins connects that series with the Athena series.

Of this second series only one was known to Six (No. 184). To these add the following:—

1. *Obv.*—Head of Athena l., in crested Athenian helmet.

*Rev.*—∇↑ΡΕΥ↑ Bearded male head l., in crested helmet. The whole in dotted incuse square.

Paris, Pl. XII., 26.     *R.* Stater, 8·47 grammes.

The reverse bears some resemblance to that of Six, No. 75 (see above, II. G. p. 10), which is, however, much earlier.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Athena, as on preceding.

*Rev.*—∇↑ΡΕΥ↑ Head of Athena, as on obverse, in incuse square.

Paris, Pl. XII., 27.     *R.* Tetrobol, 2·37 grammes.

On the evidence of this coin I would attribute to the same dynast the following obol :—

3. *Obv.*—Head of Athena l., in crested helmet.

*Rev.*—Similar type, in dotted circular incuse.

B. M.      *R.* 8 grains. Pl. II. 1.

Compare the coin at Paris (No. 545, Pl. XV. 17) with a *diskeles* in the field.

On a specimen (now in the market) of the drachm, Six, No. 184, Paris, Pl. XIII. 21, the name of the dynast  $\nabla \uparrow \text{PEY} \nabla$  occurs in full. Behind the shoulder of Athena is seen an ivy-leaf.

Finally, there is a stater, of earlier style, which stands by itself, and must probably be given to an earlier ruler.

4. *Obv.*—Winged and horned lion walking l. (same die as Six, 142).

*Rev.*— $\nabla \text{A} \nabla \text{E} \nabla \text{A}$  Triskeles l., in dotted incuse square.

Hunter Museum.      *R.* 9.64 grammes. Pl. II. 8.

Epigraphically this coin stands beside the earlier series of Kuprlli, with whose *later* coinage it is indisputably connected by the common obverse die. The inscription on this particular coin of Kuprlli looks, if anything, later than that on the coin of Khäriga.

It may be suggested that this Khäriga struck coins for Xanthus, and that his die was afterwards used by the Kuprlli, who issued what I have classified as the later issue under that name. The extremely large series of coins of Kuprlli may well be divided among two dynasts, between whom would come the Khäriga represented by this single coin. (See above, G, p. 20.)

Q. XANTHUS (Anonymous). *Circ. B.C. 410—400.*

Six, Nos. 185—190.

Six is doubtful of the Lycian origin of 186 and 187. With the diskeles on 185, 188, compare that on the coin I attribute to Artumbara below. The type of lion's head and paw, which in style is about contemporary with the coins of Cnidus which Mr. Head attributes to the end of the fifth century, would seem to be established for Xanthus by Nos. 188—190. The same type, however, occurs on Six, Nos. 173—175, one at least of which I attribute below to Krya (see p. 35).

R. ARTUMBARA. *Circ. B.C. 400—390.*

Six, 221.

To this may be added the following small coin (though it does not seem to give the portrait of the same person).

*Obv.*—Head of Athena r., in crested Athenian helmet.

*Rev.*—Head of beardless satrap r., in mitra; before his face, diskeles; dotted incuse circle.

B. M. *R.* 16 grains. Pl. II. 5.

A man of this name was dynast of Telmissus, probably at the time when it was conquered by Pericles (Arkwright, *Bab. and Or. Record*, 1890, p. 187).

S. a. PATARA. *Circ. 440.*

*Obv.*—Forepart of boar l., both legs visible; line of dots on shoulder and truncation.

*Rev.*—**TTT** Tetraskeles l. In fourth angle, "monoskeles." Square border of dots, in two angles of which are small flowers (?). The whole in shallow incuse square.




B. M. Six, 123. *R.* 124 grains. Pl. II. 4.

For the ornamentation of the reverse see above (p. 19). A similar symbol to what I have here ventured to call a monoskeles occurs frequently on the punch-marked Persian sigli.



S. β. HÖ(M)BRUMA (OF PATARA ?). *Circ.* B.C. 430—410.

Six, 198.

*Obv.*—Head of Athena l., in crested Athenian helmet. Style of the coins of Khäröi.

*Rev.*—+  [Γ] P O  [ + ] Head of Hermes l., in winged petasos; truncation of neck dotted. Behind neck . The whole in dotted incuse square.

B. M. R. Stater, 127·2 grains. Pl. II. 6.

The second letter apparently has the form , which is comparatively rare. The value of this sign is very uncertain; but I am inclined to accept the view that it is, at any rate before a dental or labial, equivalent to a nasalised ö. With the name compare the Greek "Εμβρομος (Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. p. 106) and + X Γ P  (Schmidt, *Lyc. Inscr.* Xanthus I, 2), &c., and above all Steph. Byz. s. v. "Ιμβρος · νῆσος ἐστὶ Θράκης, ἱερὰ Καβείρων καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, ὃν "Ιμβραμον λέγουσιν οἱ Κᾶρες.

It may be concluded that "Εμβρομος or "Ιμβραμος was also the Lycian name for Hermes, after whom this dynast was named. Cf. also "Ιμβρανος (Benndorf, *Reisen*, i. No. 80). The name Ἑρμῆς is common as a proper name in Lycia (Petersen, &c., *Reisen*, ii, Index). An alternative explanation, and one that may possibly be true of other Lycian coin-legends, is that the inscription gives simply the name of the god.

This coin was found in a cargo of wheat which came to Calymnos from Tarsus.

S. γ. VĀKHSSĀRĀ (OF PATARA ?) *Circ.* 480—400 B.C.

Six, Nos. 191—197.

No. 196 connects this series with the preceding, being a little earlier than the series with the full inscription of Patara, and a little later than the coin of "Embromos." In the Paris collection (Nos. 518—520), are varieties of this type, the last having for reverse  $\nabla$  in an incuse square, for which compare the coins of Khārōi and Khin... The diskeles on Nos. 191—193 may be compared with that on various coins of Xanthus, Nos. 185—188, and the coin of Khārīga (Paris, 545).

The object which Herakles is carrying on No. 192 does not seem to be a tripod, if indeed it is more than the result of a flaw in the die. With the type compare the coins of Kuprlli, Six, 163, ff. With regard to the head on Six, No. 195, whose pilos is wreathed (with oak ?) we may note that Herodotus says of the Lycians in the fleet of Xerxes: *περὶ τῆσι κεφαλῇσι πέλους πτεροῖσι περιστεφανωμένους (εἶχον).*

S. δ. KHADRITĒĀ (OF PATARA ?). *Circ.* 400 B.C.

This dynast is only represented by the stater at Paris (No. 517, Pl. XIV. 14), which seems in style strongly to resemble Six, No. 199. For the diskeles, compare the coins of Vākhssārā. With the first part of the name may be compared the name in the Carian inscription, (Abu Simbel I., 7, Sayce, *Tr. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vol. ix., p. 145), read by Sayce *Kh-a-dh-h-e-h*.

## S. ε. DYNASTS OF PATARA.

Anonymous. *Circ.* 400 B.C.

Six, Nos. 199, 200.


Paris, No. 515 (Pl. XIV. 12) stands midway between 199 and 200.

Paris, 516, Pl. XIV. 13, belongs to this series (1·83 grammes).

T. KHRIN . . . *Circ.* B.C. 405—395.

Six, Nos. 201—208.

Paris, No. 466, Pl. XII., 5, is a variety of No. 202.

Paris, No. 546, Pl. XV., 18, is a variety of No. 203, having on the reverse , for which see the coins of Khārōi, Vākhssārā, Tālābāhi, and Ddānāvālā.

Paris, No. 57, Pl. XV., 19, is a variety of 204, without the pellet.

An interesting variety of No. 205 has been recently acquired by the British Museum, in the shape of an ancient forgery.

*Obv.*—On round shield (?), Pegasus flying l. Beneath, head of he-goat l. Dotted border.



*Rev.*—Triskeles r., in dotted incuse square.

B. M.     Æ, plated. 107·2 grains. Pl. II. 7.

The Paris collection has an important stater (No. 525, Pl. XIV., 21), with the types of the head of Athena (style of coins of Khārōi), and triskeles, with the inscription **VEN**.

V. KRYA (?) *Circ.* 420 B.C.

Six, No. 174.

This coin (Pl. II. 9), seems to me to read  , the

first letter being somewhat obscure, owing to a flaw in the die. In style and type the obverse is very similar to the coins of Cnidus; and this, together with the legend, induces me to suggest, though very doubtfully, that the coin must be given to the town which stood somewhere on the borders of Lycia and Caria.

W. α. UNCERTAIN.

Series with forepart of winged stag, &c. *Circ.* 400 B.C.

The coin described by Six (No. 113 *bis*) does not resemble other coins of Aperlae in type, and the legend, at least in Fellows' drawing (XV. 9), is not at all certain. The object in the field of the reverse is almost certainly that which occurs as type on the coins of the series Six, Nos. 176, 177. To this series must be added a small coin at Paris (No. 524, Pl. XIII., 23), which is similar to the coin in the British Museum (Six, No. 177), but has no legend. Wt. 1.12 grammes. For the legend of No. 177 I would suggest  $\Lambda \vee I$  [P]  $\Delta \nabla \Delta$  (*i.e.* Ägz(?)ana). (Pl. II. 8).

W. β. UNCERTAIN.

Series with seated lion. *Circ.* 400 B.C.

Six, Nos. 104, 104 *bis*.

To these add the Paris stater (No. 464, Pl. XII. 4), the reverse of which has the usual Lycian dotted incuse square. The ornament on which the lion of No. 104 is seated perhaps indicates a piece of architecture in the Lycian style, the round ends of the beams being visible. The British Museum specimen is not Lycian in fabric, and I should be inclined to give it to some place near the borders of Caria, if not in Caria itself.

The type was probably used for an earlier coinage; see II., E, 1, No. 8, p. 9.

X. α. DDĀNĀVĀLĀ. *Circ.* 410—400 B.C.

Six, Nos. 209—220.

No coins have to be added to Six's list (Nos. 209—220). The  $\Psi$ , which is found on most of them, is explained by Six as the first letter of a word meaning *σύν*, and thus as evidence of a league corresponding to the anti-Laconian league of 394—390. That it is not the same league is clear from the fact that the letter appears on earlier coins, and that the type of Herakles strangling the snakes is absent from all. This hypothesis is rejected by Babelon.

X. β. ÄRBINA. *Circ.* 400 B.C.

Six, Nos. 228, 229.

The Lycian origin of No. 230 seems very improbable. The presence of Carian letters (but see Head, *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 337) would be explained by the dynast having power over the neighbouring part of Caria. If Ärbina is Trebenna, this is very improbable, as the latter town was in Pamphylia (Ramsay, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1885, p. 343). But the Lycian word does not approximate sufficiently to the form Trebenna, or even Perbena (of the Notitiae), to warrant an identification. 'Αρβίννας is found as a man's name, e.g., in an inscription of the second century A.D., from Sidyma-Cragus (Benndorf, *Reisen*, I. p. 74, No. 52 l. 15), and I am inclined to regard this legend as the name of a dynast. As to the letters called Carian, they may quite well belong to some other Asiatic dialect.



X. γ. ΤΑΛΑΒΑΗ. *Circ.* 410—400 B.C.

Six, Nos. 222—227.

No. 227 connects this name with Ärbina. The last two letters in the legend of 225 seem to be an adjectival (perhaps ethnic) suffix, and we may, therefore, regard these coins as giving the name of the place of which Ddänävälä and Ärbina were dynasts.<sup>12</sup>

Y. ΑΡΥΒΔΙΥΑΣΙ. *Circ.* 400—390.

Six, Nos. 231, 232.

In the British Museum is the following small coin:—

*Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

*Rev.*—Α ρ °. Triskeles l., in one angle of which, Ι.  
(*Cf.* coins of Zöm . . . and Trbbönimi, V, B and C.) Incuse circle.

B. M. Α. Obol. 9·6 grains. Pl. II. 10.

If this coin belongs to the same dynast as Nos. 231, 232, it gives us the transition from the series of Ärbina, to which they belong in style, to the large series with the lion's scalp, which is the main coinage of Lycia from about 390—360 B.C.

With the name compare the Greek 'Αρυάνδης (a Persian, *Hdt.* 4, 166, &c.), and many names in 'Αρυ— and 'Αλυ— (see Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch*).

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<sup>12</sup> Mr. Arkwright suggests, with great probability, that B and + correspond to a Greek μ and σ respectively (for which correspondence there is sufficient analogy), and that the place in question is Telmissus (*cf.* the spelling Τελεμήσσιοι).

## V.—SERIES DATING CIRCA B.C. 395—350.

A. MITHRAPATA. *Circ.* B.C. 390.

Six, Nos. 233—236.

The resemblance of this name to the Greek *Μιθρῶπάστης* (Strabo xvi. 3, p. 766) is the only evidence for the value of the letter  $\alpha\epsilon$ . M. Six compares *Μετροβάτης*, a subordinate of Pharnabazus.

The symbols on some of the series (a fish probably on 235, a dolphin on 238—241) and the type of 246, a cockleshell, seem to point to a maritime city. On the other hand, the reverse type of 246 (facing head of Apollo) is exactly similar to that of the coin described by Six under 279, with the legend  $\tau\alpha\phi$  FE. Tlos would seem, then, to have been at this time in the possession of Mithrapata, most of whose coins, however, were struck for maritime towns.

The following coin in the British Museum, though perhaps not struck by Mithrapata himself, must be mentioned here:—

*Obv.*—Cockleshell. Border of dots.

*Rev.*—Lion's head facing, in incuse square.

Æ. .35. Pl. II. 11.

B. ZOMU (OF LIMYRA). *Circ.* B.C. 395—390.


Six, Nos. 247—249.

Add to these:—

1. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp. On forehead  $\mid\!-\!\mid$ . Below,  $\tau$  (*Of* Six, No. 232).<sup>13</sup>


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<sup>13</sup> This is not the letter T, as comparison with the coins of Trbbōnimi will show.

*Rev.*—**I**  **M** Triskeles l., in incuse square.

B. M. *R.* 151·4 grains. Pl. II. 13.



2. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

*Rev.*—**I**  **M**. Triskeles l., in incuse circle.

*R.* 9 grains (much worn).

C. TRBBÖNIMI (OF LIMYRA), SON (?) OF ZÖMU. *Circ.* B.C. 390—385.

Six, Nos. 250—259.

From a cast in the B. M. of the Hunter coin, No. 250, it appears that the legend on the obverse is **I**  **M**  (Pl. II. 12).

To this series the following coins in the B. M. may be added:—


1. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

*Rev.*—**TPB** Triskeles l. In field, club; the whole in incuse square.

*R.* Stater, 151·1 grains.

(A variety of this at Paris, No. 527, Pl. XV. 2.)


2. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp. Below, **T**  **B**

*Rev.*—**I**  **M** Triskeles l., in incuse circle.

*R.* Stater, 149·8 grains. Pl. II. 15.

(*Cf.* the coin of Aru[vādiyāsi], described above, IV. Y.)

3. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp. Below, **H**

*Rev.*—**TPB** **B**  **N** **EME** Triskeles l., in incuse square.

B. M. *R.* Stater, 132 grains. Pl. II. 14.

4. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

*Rev.*—T . . .  $\sim$  E  $\wedge$  E. Triskeles l., in incuse circle.

B. M.     R. Tetrobol, 32.3 grains.

5. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp. On forehead, triskeles l.

*Rev.*—TPB . . . E  $\wedge$  E. Triskeles l. Concave field.

B. M.     R. Tetrobol, 38.2 grains.

6. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

*Rev.*—TPB B  $\times$  N E  $\wedge$  E. Triskeles l., the whole in incuse circle.

B. M.     R. Obol, 11.1 grains.

With the name compare *Τρέβημις* (*Reisen* II. p. 147, No. 176).

D. VAD . . (OF LIMYRA). *Circ.* B.C. 385—380.

The specimens in Paris (No. 531, Pl. XV. 4) and in London seem to have lost all trace of the small triskeles under the obverse type, if they ever possessed it.

E. ZAGA (OF LIMYRA). *Circ.* B.C. 380.

Six, Nos. 261, 262.

The grain of barley also occurs as a symbol on a coin of Mithrapata (No. 234).

To this series is to be added the coin at Paris:—

*Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

*Rev.*—I  $\triangleright$  V. Triskeles l., in incuse circle.

Paris, 533, Pl. XV. 6.     R. Obol, 0.54 grammes.

M. Babelon also attributes to this series the coin

(No. 532, Pl. XV. 5) with *Obv.* boar, *Rev.* Α Τ, triskeles of cygnets' heads. It seems, however, judging from the photograph, to be of an earlier date.

F. ΠΑΡΙΚΛΑ (Περικλῆς) OF LIMYRA.

Afterwards King of all Lycia. *Circ.* 380—362 B.C.

Six, Nos. 264—274.

The only addition to be made to this series is a variety of the tetrobol No. 266, in the British Museum, differing only in the arrangement of the legend and in having the type three-quarters to the left.

The symbols in the field probably here, as in other cases, represent the various cities which fell under the power of Perikles—as, *e.g.*, the head of Hermes represents Patara.

TLOS. *Circ.* 390 B.C.

Six, Nos. 275—279.

Two slight varieties may be added to this list, both being at Paris (Nos. 542 and 543, Pl. XV. 14 and 15), and their weights 0.56 and 1.22 grammes respectively.

It seems hardly necessary to assume the existence of a dynast for this series, which may very well belong to the city of Tlos itself.

With the subjection of Lycia to Caria in the time of Maussolus the autonomous coinage of the cities seems to have ceased; in any case there seem to be no coins (excepting those of Phaselis) which can with certainty be

attributed to Lycia from about the middle of the fourth to the middle of the third century, and indeed there is very little earlier than 200 B.C. From the time of Alexander to this date the coinage of that king and his successors would naturally have circulated in the district. A discussion of the question which, if any, coins with the types of Alexander and his successors are to be attributed to Lycia, will be found in Six's article, p. 434. With his No. 284 must be classed a gold stater in the British Museum, which, though it bears no triskeles, has in the field the same head in a mitra as appears on the tetradrachm.

Recently, however, the British Museum has acquired a tetradrachm of the kind which Mr. Head is inclined to attribute to Syria or Cilicia, which seems to show that the **M — AY** tetradrachms did circulate in Lycia.

*Obv.*—Head of young Herakles r., in lion's skin. Countermarked with (1) boar to l.; (2) grain of corn (?) or boar's head r. (?) Border of dots.

*Rev.*—Usual type. **M — AY**.

B. M.     *Æ*. Tetradrachm, 264·9 grains.

I may conclude by the publication of three coins, the Lycian origin of which I am strongly inclined to doubt, although one of them, at least, has some evidence in its favour.

1. *Obv.*—Uncertain object (flower?).

*Rev.*—Irregular incuse impressions divided by bars.

B. M. Found at Myra.     *Æ*. '95. Wt. 157·5 grains.  
Pl. II. 18.

2. *Obv.*—Head of boar r., with long tusks.

*Rev.*—Deep incuse square, quadripartite.

B. M.     R. .5.   Wt. 48.5 grains.   Pl. II. 16.

3. *Obv.*—Boar walking r., on row of dots.   Above, flower.

*Rev.*—Incuse square, quadripartite diagonally.

B. M.     R. .75.   Wt. 180 grains.   Pl. II. 17.

Mr. Head suggests that this coin belongs to Cyrene, and that the flower above the type is the silphium. The type of the boar is found at Cyrene on coins of a very similar style and fabric (Müller, *Numism. de l'anc. Afrique*, I., p. 10, No. 15), and a somewhat similar reverse may be seen on others (*e.g.* Müller, *l.c.* No. 7).

NOTE.—While this article is passing through the press, an examination of the following coin has convinced me that it must be given to Lycia, and placed in Series II.

*Obv.*—Sphinx with curved wing, seated r., l. paw raised.

*Rev.*—Crab, in dotted incuse square.

R.     Stater, 148 grains.

This coin was given by Borrell (from whose collection it passed, through the Bank of England, to the British Museum) to Perga; but there is hardly any doubt that it must be placed beside the Series II E (especially E. 3).

G. F. HILL.

## II.

### THE MINT OF GOTHABYRIG.

SOME coins of Æthelred II., Cnut, and Harold I. are recorded by Hildebrand as having been struck at this mint, the name of which appears under several forms of spelling; but the geographical position of Gothabyrig is still enveloped in mystery. The coins are described as follows, so far as their reverses are concerned.

Æthelred II., A.D. 978—1013; 1014—1014.

+ LODA ON LOÐABYRI	.	.	Hild.	Type A
+ ÞVLFMÆR ON LVÐA	.	.	"	" A
+ ÞVLFMÆR MIO LEØÐA	.	.	"	" D, E
+ ÞVLFMÆR M·O LOÐA	.	.	"	" E
+ ÞVLMÆR ON LOÐA	.	.	"	" E-

Cnut, A.D. 1016—1035.

+ ÆLFVARD ON LOÐA.	.	.	Hild.	Type I
+ DARLA ON LIØÐ	.	.	"	" E
+ LEOMÆR ON LEØÐ	.	.	"	" I
+ ÞVLFMÆR O LIØÐ	.	.	"	" E
+ ÞVLFMÆR ON IOÐA	.	.	"	" E
+ ÞVLMÆR O IOÐA	.	.	"	" E

Harold I., A.D. 1034—1039.

+ LEOFMÆR ON IOÐAB	.	.	Hild.	Type A
+ LEOMÆR ON IOÐ	.	.	"	" B
+ LEOMÆR ON IOÐA	.	.	"	" B



Judging from the names of the moneyers, the mint must have been in continuous operation. Goda coined under Æthelred alone, as did Ælfvard and Carla under Cnut; but Wulfmær worked both under Æthelred and Cnut, and Leofmær under Cnut and Harold I. But where was Gothabyrig situated? Hildebrand suggests that it was possibly Jedburgh in Scotland, and at one time I was not unwilling to accept this suggestion. The old name of that town, however, was Jedworth, and not Jedburgh; and though it lay in a Saxon district—which, indeed, is called Saxonia by chroniclers—it was ceded as part of Lothian to the Scottish king in A.D. 1020, having previously been within the kingdom of Northumbria. It is true that in the year 944 this kingdom, on the expulsion of Anlaf and Regnald, had been nominally ceded to King Eadmund, but it subsequently elected Olaf Quaran and Eric as kings, though in 993 it was ravaged by the Danes. Active hostilities with the Northumbrians were carried on by Cnut in 1016 and 1017, so that it seems impossible for the operations of a mint to have been peacefully and continuously carried on in such a remote place during the whole of the reign of Cnut and, at all events, parts of the reigns of his predecessor and successor.

Messrs. Grueber and Keary are, therefore, quite justified in regarding the identification of Geoðaburh with Jedburgh as doubtful. They point out that Raine and Dixon identify Juðanburh, a place mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and elsewhere, with Jedburgh, an identification which they also are unwilling to accept. To my mind, however, we cannot go far astray in identifying the Goðabyrig, Geoðabyrig, Gioðabyrig, or Joðabyrig of the coins with the Juthanbirig or the Judanbyrig of the chroniclers.

Let us see how this place comes to be mentioned in history. The Saxon Chronicle says :—

“A. 952. In this year King Eadred commanded Archbishop Wulstan to be brought into the fastness at Judan-byrig, because he had been oft accused to the King.”

“A. 954. This year the North-humbrians expelled Yric, and Eadred obtained the Kingdom of the North-humbrians. This year arch-bishop Wulstan again obtained a bishoprick at Dorchester.”

Florence of Worcester's version is as follows :—

“DCCCCLII. Inclitus Rex Anglorum Edredus Eboracensem archiepiscopum Wulstanum in Juthanbirig arctam posuit in custodiam quia frequenter apud eum certis ex causis accusabatur”——

“DCCCCLIV. Wulstano Eboracensi archiepiscopo a custodia soluto, episcopalis honor apud Dorcaceastre restituitur.”

Although Eadmund in 944 is said to have subdued all Northumberland under his power, yet the readers of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle will see that in 948 his successor, Eadred, again ravaged it because they had taken Yric to be their king. But it will be noted from the passage quoted above that it was not till 954 that Yric was expelled. Assuming for a moment that Jedburgh, in an outlying northern district of Northumbria, had at some time been within the power of Eadmund and Eadred, can any one believe that the latter would commit the unruly archbishop for safe custody to a place on the other side of the kingdom of Northumbria, which, moreover, whether under Anlaf or Yric, was in active rebellion against him?

It is, I think, evident that Judanbyrig is to be sought for farther south, and Dewsbury occurred to me as pos-

sibly being a modern form of the name. The name of Dewsbury, however, in Domesday Book has almost the modern spelling, so that this idea was valueless, and the site of Gothabyrig has to be sought elsewhere. In seeking it, the only clue that we seem to possess is that of etymology. We see the name beginning under Æthelred as Gothabyrig, softening into Geothabyrig, and under Cnut and Harold softening farther into Iothabyrig, the form in the Saxon Chronicle being Judanbyrig. The problem is how to find the modern representative of the name. We are not entirely without the means of solving it. Turning to Kemble's "*Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*," we find that Geocburnan, in a charter of Eadgar,<sup>1</sup> A.D. 963, can probably be identified with the present Ickbourn, in Sussex. This would suggest some name beginning with Id or Ith as the equivalent of Geothabyrig. But fortunately, we have a far better instance of the gradual change of the name of a place in the case of a Kentish village, the name of which appears in three successive charters. In 958 it is Geochám; in 1006 Iocchám; under Edward the Confessor, Ieocchám; and at the present day, Ickham. Working by analogy, we have the sequence Geothabyrig, Iothabyrig, or Iudanbyrig, with a modern equivalent, Idbury.

Where, then, is Idbury? It is a parish in the Hundred of Chadlington, in the county of Oxford, five and a-half miles north by west from Burford. Although the present population is only two hundred and nineteen, the church is an ancient structure with a Norman porch, always a sign of the place having been of some importance in the eleventh or twelfth century, and there are,

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<sup>1</sup> No. 1250.

moreover, vestiges of a large military camp near the turnpike road from Stow-on-the-Wold to Burford.

The Rev. S. York, Rector of Fifield-with-Idbury, has kindly furnished me with some particulars as to this camp. It is situate on high ground, oblong in shape, with an area of about eighteen acres, and until within the memory of many of the older inhabitants, it was surrounded by a high mound or rampart of earth, which now unfortunately has been levelled. From time to time Roman coins have been dug up within the camp, but, so far as Mr. York knows, no Saxon coins. There is a tradition that a great battle was fought at or near the camp in Saxon times, and that many of the slain were buried in Idbury churchyard. Anyhow, there seems to be sufficient evidence of there being a Roman camp at the place, and however we may write the name of Idbury, it shows that the camp was of sufficient importance before the compilation of Domesday Book for the word *byrig* to enter into the name of the township. Although the name of the place, as given in Domesday Book, is *Ideberie*, this does not seem to me to afford any strong objection to the earlier name having been *Iuthanbyrig* or *Iothabyrig*. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope suggests that the *Iudanbyrig* of the Chronicles may be perhaps found in the *Udeberge*, *Udesburg*, or *Udeburg* of Domesday Book, now Woodborough, in Nottinghamshire. The transition, however, from *Geotha* to *Ude* seems to me impossible, the modern name Woodborough showing that there was no sound of an *I* or *Y* before the *U*. As a rule, the Saxon names of towns now beginning with *Wood* began with *Wude*, while *Ge* has a tendency to turn into *I* or *Y*.

Moreover, if the scene of Wulstan's captivity were at Idbury, there would appear to have been some reason for

his being, on his release, restored to episcopal honours at Dorchester, instead of in the cathedral town of some more northern diocese. For Dorchester, the centre in Saxon times of an important bishopric, is less than thirty miles from Idbury, and is situate within the same county of Oxford. The camp at Idbury may, indeed, well have been a Saxon fastness of sufficient strength and importance for the imprisonment of an archbishop. That Iudanbyrig or Geothabyrig was, within about sixty years after this imprisonment, of sufficient importance to have a mint is proved by the coins. The nearest towns in which mints were established were Cricklade, Oxford, and Wallingford, all at some distance from Idbury. The mint at Wardborough had apparently long ceased to work.

On the whole I am inclined to accept Idbury provisionally as the modern representative of Geothabyrig, and thus to add another mint to those which are already known to have existed in Oxfordshire.

JOHN EVANS

### III.

#### THE COINAGE AS AFFECTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION OF HENRY II.

AMID the mass of varied information on the practice of the Exchequer under Henry II. given in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, there is some which throws light on the coinage, I think, in two points; the one concerning the coins themselves, and the other the moneyers.

As regards the first, we are told that certain counties, such as Northumberland and Cumberland, from the time of Henry I. and also in that of Henry II., could lawfully pay their dues at the Exchequer in coins of any kind of money, so long as they were silver and of proper weight, because, not having moneyers by ancient institution, they used to procure coins from anywhere they could, while the other counties could only pay in lawful coins of the regular current money. But that since the illustrious king . . . had, under his rule, established one weight and one money throughout the whole kingdom, every county had become subject to one necessity of law, and bound in the discharge of the general commerce of the country.<sup>1</sup> And that at that present time, therefore (*i.e.* 1178), all paid the same kind of money. The reference is to the first coinage of Henry II., which was carried

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<sup>1</sup> "Nota quosdam comitatus a tempore regis Henrici primi et in tempore regis Henrici secundi licite potuisse cujuscunque monetae denarios solutioni offerre, dummodo argentei essent et ponderi legitimo non obstarent; quia scilicet monetarios ex antiqua institutione non habentes, undecunque sibi denarios

out in 1156, in pursuance of the last article of the scheme of reform arranged at Wallingford, providing that a coinage of uniform type should be struck.<sup>2</sup> It would seem, then, that the uniformity of the coinage so introduced was looked upon as a noticeable improvement and reform, not merely with reference to the baronial coinages of the anarchy, but also to the preceding royal issues. If it had only taken place as a natural consequence of the suppression of the barons' money, and as a return to the old ordered state of things, it would not have been considered worthy of a special clause in the treaty, nor remarked on when it took place. The conclusion, therefore, is, I think, that in the reigns preceding the money throughout the realm was not uniform, which is in confirmation of the theory which I have before advanced, that the issues of various types in those reigns were, to a great extent, contemporary.

Now in this first coinage of Henry II., ill-struck as we know that it is, absolute uniformity is only thoroughly established on the reverse: on the obverse, though the pose and style of the king's head and sceptre are uniform (connecting the type regularly through Stephen, *Hkns.*, 268, 269, with Henry I., *Hkns.*, 267<sup>3</sup>), there are differ-

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perquirebant: quales sunt Northumberland et Cumberland. . . . Reliqui vero comitatus solos usuales et instantis monetae denarios tam de firmis quam de placitis afferebant. At postquam rex illustris, cujus laus est in rebus magnis excellentior, sub monarchia sua per universum regnum unum pondus et unam monetam instituit, omnis comitatus una legis necessitate teneri et generalis commercii solutione cœpit obligari. Omnes itaque idem monetae genus quomodocunque teneantur solvunt." —*Dial. de Scacc.*, I. iii. (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 165.)

<sup>2</sup> *R. de Diceto* (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I., 379 n.). "Forma publica percussa eadem in regno celebris erit ubique moneta."

<sup>3</sup> The reproduction of the cross-head to the sceptre is worth notice.

ences in detail, the shape and size of the crown, which sometimes has peculiar pendants, and the expression of the head varying on different coins; and hence again an argument *a contrario* may be drawn in support of the former theory.

It was contended, in the case of the earlier kings, that the absence of variety on specimens of one type struck at different places proved that the dies for it were made at one centre, and that this was one of the points in favour of the idea of contemporary issues with dies engraved at more than one place, or, at least, by more than one hand. Now that, admittedly, a uniform type has been ordered to be struck throughout the country, we find that the existing system of engraving the dies cannot at first carry it out. The simple reverse is adhered to, for it can be easily copied, but on the more elaborate obverse variety creeps in. It seems to me, therefore, not improbable that one of the reforms introduced under Philip Aymary was the restriction of the die-engraving to one centre and to one known society of engravers. The design of the coins issued under his auspices is doubtless as prosaic a one as can be found, but I should like to credit it with one little historical detail—the absence of the royal crown on the king's head, in which it so markedly differs from its predecessors, which may, I think, be explained by a reference to the vow which Henry had made at Worcester, at Easter, 1158, never to wear his crown in state again.

On the other point, after describing the method in which money received at the Exchequer was tested by refining, in answer to a question, the author, Richard FitzNeale, says, "Some have thought, and I agree with them, that the money of this kingdom is not to be accounted legal if the pound of silver coins when refined be found to have lost more than six pennyweights, and



that money of such a kind when brought to the Exchequer is to be confiscated, unless the coins happen to be new and not yet in circulation, whose superscription shows their author; for then that same moneyer is to be strictly summoned and condemned or absolved according to law without loss to the sheriff. . . . But all this is now almost abolished, and has to a great extent fallen into disuse, as in the matter of coining money there is universal corruption. When, however, the coinage shall have been brought to its proper and legally determined fineness it will be necessary to observe the rule of the ancient constitution."<sup>4</sup>

Then he says later that the sheriff, finding that he is damaged by the melting of the bad money, when he is about to pay his ferm, uses the utmost diligence to see that the moneyers appointed under him do not exceed the due bounds of law, and if he finds any doing so he so punishes them that others are deterred by the example.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> "Fuerunt autem qui crederent, quibus nec ego dissentio, non esse legitimam hujus regni monetam si examinata libra decidat plusquam vi. den. a pondere cui numerata respondet; et etiam delatam ad scaccarium hujusmodi pecuniam fisco debere cedere nisi forte novi sint et non usuales denarii quorum etiam superscriptio suum prodat auctorem; tunc enim idem monetarius super opere suo districte convenietur et legibus constitutis sine jactura vicecomitis condemnabitur vel absolvetur. . . . Verum totum hoc pene nunc abolitum est et multum relinquitur, quoniam in moneta generaliter peccatur ab omnibus. Cum autem ad debitum et lege determinatum modum moneta pervenerit, primitivae constitutionis legem observari necesse erit." —*Dial. de Scacc.*, I. vi. (Stubbs, p. 184.)

The refined pound sometimes lost as much as twelve penny-weights.—*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> "Sentiens vicecomes se praegravari per combustionem deterioris monetae, cum firmam est soluturus, sollicitam adhibet diligentiam ut monetarii sub eo constituti legis constitutae fines non excedant: quos cum deprehenderit, sic puniuntur ut eorum exemplo ceteri terreantur."—*Ibid.*, I. vii.

The position of the moneyers as thus described corresponds in the main with that which Ruding deduces from the entries in Domesday in the preceding century; but some things come out clearer. The moneyer is an appointed officer regularly subject to the sheriff and responsible for the issue of coins and for the goodness of the coins themselves within the county. He is not necessarily the striker of the coins themselves, though he may be so; but his actual status will often vary, as his position as a responsible citizen is naturally relative to the importance of the town in which he lives. In small country places the responsible person and the actual striker are identical; in large cities like York or Gloucester persons who, like Thomas FitzUlviot at the former, are aldermen of guilds or bailiffs of the town, are moneyers. In London and Winchester they seem generally to be goldsmiths whose trade flourished there.

The growth and development of the central administration of the kingdom is clearly reflected in the coinage. From the reign of the Confessor downwards there is a regular decrease in the number of mint towns and moneyers. The former are steadily reduced to the more important towns and centres of trade, and the diminution in the number of the latter doubtless is of the same character. With the great progress of organization under Henry II. the whole system of the coinage becomes more and more subject to the control of the central authority and to settled procedure. In contrast to the court-martial dealings under Henry I., fraudulent moneyers in the Dialogue are to be tried by settled law, and the requirements of the Exchequer bring them under the annual inspection of the sheriff. When the reform under Aymary has secured the issue of a uniform type, the coinage estab-

lishment appears fairly complete. The moneyers receive their dies and are responsible for the use of them as regular parts of the administration, and not as the private licensees, so to speak, of the king, which they rather were formerly. Other evidence of this is found in the exception, in some of the later town charters of Henry II., and also of his sons, of *monetarii et ministri nostri* from the benefit of the right, granted to the rest of the community, of not being impleaded elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> The reason of course being that as officials they were subject to the king's court.

The progress is further continued in the next century. In the ninth year of King John the moneyers are confined apparently to sixteen towns only, and are regularly summoned to London, being distinguished in the writs from the workers of the money, whom they are commanded to bring with them.<sup>7</sup> By the following reign the practice appears fully established of the moneyers and *custodes cuneorum* being presented and sworn before the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer.<sup>8</sup>

Whatever may have been the case formerly, the point has evidently now been passed at which the responsible officer becomes distinct from the working craftsman. As early as 29 Hen. II. there is an entry of a fine on Walter the linendraper of Oxford for refusing to make the king's money.<sup>9</sup> Now, in 6 Hen. III., as Sir John Evans has shown,<sup>10</sup> the moneyers of London whose names appear on the coins are the officials called *Custodes Monetæ*. In 14 Hen. III., William the tailor is a moneyer

<sup>6</sup> See *Brady on Burghs*, App., pp. 39—45.

<sup>7</sup> Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, i., 290. <sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, ii., 87 (6 Hen. III.).

<sup>9</sup> Madox, i., 560. <sup>10</sup> *N. C.*, N. S., v. 288, 289.

at Canterbury, and by the writs issued to Wallingford and eight other towns in 33 Hen. III.,<sup>10</sup> the bailiffs and men of the town are directed to choose in full town court, by the oath of four-and-twenty good men, four persons of the most trusty and prudent of their town for the office of moneyer (thus showing that there was no need of technical skill for the office), and other four like persons for the keeping of the king's mint, and two fit and prudent goldsmiths to be assayers of the money made there, and one fit and trusty clerk for the keeping of the exchange: such persons to be sworn at the Exchequer.

One step further remains to be taken; instead of a particular election and presentation of individuals, a permanent guild or society has to be formed and the personal responsibility of each member merged in that of the whole body. This happens when the name of the moneyer disappears from the reverse and that of the mint town alone takes its place. In London, where doubtless the organization of the mint was most developed, instances of this occur as early as the date of the short cross coins reading CIVITAS LVNDÆ; but its universal adoption, of course, was at the new coinage after the accession of Edward I.

The improvement, again, was apparently due to foreign influence; but Edward went beyond France to Provence and the shores of the Mediterranean for its author. William de Turnemire must have been thoroughly accustomed to the close organization and incorporation of the moneyers, which, I need not say, was established at

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<sup>10</sup> The other towns are Bristol, Ilchester, Hereford, New-castle, Nottingham, Carlisle, Shrewsbury, and Wilton.—*Mad., Hist. Ex.* ii., 89

a much earlier period on the Continent. His adoption of the Latin language on the reverse, even in the case of a solitary survival for a short time of the moneyer at Bury, is worth notice. The plain simple type of his coins harmonizes with the temper of legal definition which was characteristic of the reign; and the lists of the mints from which they were issued shows how the organization of the coinage has kept pace with that of the constitution in the hundred years. Instead of the moneyers in each privileged county town under the supervision of the local sheriff which the Dialogue speaks of, or even the various country places mentioned in the writs of John and Henry III., these provincial mints, mere branches of that at the Tower, are confined to the archiepiscopal cities of Canterbury and York, the great commercial port of Bristol, and (as an evident favour) the king's new port on the Hull; two cities in the west and north-east corners, Exeter and Lincoln; and, perhaps for a similar reason of remoteness, but more probably with reference to the war in Wales and Scotland, the three, Chester, Newcastle, and Berwick; and, lastly, the ecclesiastical mints of Durham and the two Abbeys of Bury and Reading. All of them except Canterbury, York, and Durham, soon become extinct; and if ever subsequently a local mint is set to work again, it is only for a special purpose and for a limited period. In the coinage, as in legislation, Henry II.'s work of administrative centralisation receives its consummation under Edward I.

A. E. PACKE.

#### IV.

### THE COINAGES OF CUTCH AND KĀTHIĀWĀR.

#### CUTCH.

(Plates iii., iv.)

CUTCH,<sup>1</sup> by strict transliteration Kacch, "the seacoast land," is a belt of land 160 miles from east to west, and from 35 to 37 from north to south, lying to the west of Gujarāt, between the peninsula of Kāthiāwār on the south and the province of Sind on the north. It is almost entirely cut off from the continent of India, on the north and east by the Ran, on the south by the Gulf of Cutch, and on the west by the Arabian Sea and the eastern or Kori mouth of the Indus. Exclusive of the Ran, it contains an estimated area of 6,500 square miles, and a population of 558,415 souls. "From its isolated position, the special character of its people, their peculiar dialect, and their strong feeling of personal loyalty to their ruler, the peninsula of Cutch has more of the elements of a distinct nationality than any other of the dependencies of the Bombay Government" (Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, vol. v.).

The general aspect of the country is hilly and rocky, but there are portions of land, chiefly along the south

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<sup>1</sup> It is thought best in the spelling of this and all Indian place names to follow the system given in the Gazetteer of India of Sir W. W. Hunter.

coast and a tongue stretching to the north, which are flat and covered with rich soil. Three ranges of hills lie across the peninsula, which have generally high and steep sides on the north and slope away towards the south; the range bordering the Great Ran is the largest, and most distinctly of this form. The rivers are inconsiderable, their beds are dry during a great part of the year, but good water is easily found in wells at no great depth. The land where suitable is well cultivated.

The Ran, *irina*, "the waste," is a salt desert covering about 9,000 square miles, and believed to be the dry bed of an arm of the sea. The Great Ran on the north extends over about 7,000 square miles, the Little Ran on the east over about 1,600 miles. "Except the four hilly islands and some plots of raised ground on the south shore of the Great Ran, the whole area is from April to October frequently flooded with salt or brackish water to the depth of one to three feet; by the end of November it is quite dry, except here and there, with a hard, flat surface covered with stones, shingle, and salt. As the season wears on and the heat grows greater, the ground, baked and blistered by the sun, shines over large tracts of salt with dazzling whiteness, and the air, dim and quivering, mocks all distance by an almost ceaseless mirage. Only on some raised rocky lands is water found, and only near water is there brushwood, grass, or any sign of growth. Except a chance bird or herd of wild asses, a stray antelope, or an occasional camel caravan, no sign of life breaks the weary loneliness." (Bomb. Gazetteer.)

The greater part of the province is under the direct management of the Rāo, but a part forms the estates of the Bhāyād or cadets of the Rāo's house, a body of

feudal landlords; and a few villages are held by the Thākur of Morvī, one of the leading chiefs of the Rāo's tribe. The capital town is Bhūj, situated near the centre of the State, founded by Khengārjī in A.D. 1548.

The present inhabitants of Cutch are descendants of immigrant settlers chiefly from the north and north-east, from Sind and Mārwar; they are a strong and vigorous race, known for their shrewdness in business, their skill as workers in stone, in metals, and in embroidery, and as good sailors. The colloquial language is Cutchi, and that of literature and business Gujarāṭi.

In the 14th century the country was conquered by a Sind tribe of Samma Rājput, from whom the present ruling family is descended. They are known as Jādeja, or children of Jāda, a name it is supposed applied to them in or soon after the time of Lakha, son of Jāda, who came from Tatta in Sind about A.D. 1350 to be the Ruling Chief, and became the founder of the present dynasty of Rāos.

Passing over a period of some 200 years, during which the country had been broken up by divisions and rivalries in the Jādeja family, we find in the early part of the 16th century Rāval, after having murdered his brother Hamirjī, the chief ruler in Cutch, and the son of Hamirjī, named Khengārjī, fighting against his uncle and other chiefs, and in 1548 successful with the help of Mahmūd Bigara, King of Gujarāt, in establishing himself as the ruler instead of his father's murderer. Mahmūd bestowed on him the title of Rāo, and he, in return for the king's help and favour, had to serve him with 5,000 horse. Rāval, when driven out of Cutch, fled to Kāthiāwar, founded Navānagar, and became the first of the line of Jāms of Navānagar.



After reigning some 40 years in peace, Khengārjī died, and was succeeded by his son Bhārmaljī. During Bhārmaljī's reign, the government of Gujarāt passed from the Ahmadābād kings to the Moghul Emperor, and then it appears the Rāo attempted to make himself independent, but after two defeats he submitted to the Emperor A.D. 1591, and was confirmed by him in his position, and on condition of giving pilgrims passage to Mecca, was freed from paying tribute.

The reigns of the next seven Rāos were uneventful, and in regular succession, except in the case of Prāgmāljī, who killed his elder brother and seized the throne on his father's death.

Soon after the accession of Dēsaljī I. A.D. 1718, the Viceroy of Gujarāt being pressed for funds by the decay of his Gujarāt revenue, sent a force into Cutch to extort a tribute, but finding the Rāo prepared to resist by force as well as to claim his exemption, under the agreement with Jahāngīr, from tribute or attack on conditions which had been kept for more than 100 years, withdrew without fighting. Within three years, however, the Viceroy again marched against Cutch with an army of 50,000 men, this time engaging the Rāo's army near Bhūj, and suffering a crushing defeat was driven out of the country, harassed to the last by the celebrated Cutchi horse.

In the reign of Gōdjī II., Ghulān Shāh Kalhora, then reigning in Sind, made an attempt, to which he had long looked forward, to conquer Cutch, and invaded it in 1762 with an army of 70,000 men. At the first battle at Jāra the Cutchi army was almost destroyed, but owing to successful intrigues, Ghulām was induced to withdraw soon after without proceeding to Bhūj. Three years

after this Ghulām made another invasion and was again induced to retire on receiving a near relative of the Rāo in marriage. Other invasions from Sind were made in 1775 and 1777.

About this time the internal affairs of Cutch were falling into disorder owing to the usual cause, bad rule, by dissolute and careless Rāos, and intriguing, self-seeking ministers. Added to this were the troubles in the time of Rāyadbanjī II., who succeeded to the *gadi* at an early age, and after some years of vice and debauchery became mad. A time of utter disorder then followed, when the power was sometimes in the hands of the Rāo's friends, sometimes in those of his brother Prithirājī, and sometimes in those of the madman himself. Piracy, raids by banditti, and general interference with the peace and trade of the neighbouring countries led at last to the aid of the British being asked for to restore some order; promises were made and broken, a British Agent was sent to Bhūj, but withdrawn without matters being settled, and finally, in 1815, a British force advanced on Bhūj. Rāo Bhārmaljī II. submitted before the capital was reached, and a treaty was made under which the management of the State by degrees fell into the hands of the British Agent, the Rāo giving himself up to ease and debauchery. For a time things went on well, but later on the Rāo had again made so much mischief with his people, and especially with the Chiefs, that in 1819 a force was again sent against him by the British; Bhūj was captured, Bhārmaljī deposed, and his son Dēsaljī II. placed on the *gadi*, with a Regency of the British Resident and some Jādeja Chiefs during his minority. Under this government order and system was gradually introduced,

at first, however, with much difficulty, so that when the Rāo was installed in the full management of the State, on his coming of age in 1834, he came into the possession of a good revenue with a settled and contented people; and under his enlightened rule, and that of his successors, everything has gone on progressing, and Cutch is now one of the model States of India, yet still happily preserving in many ways its peculiarities.

The State revenue, which was in 1852 £71,540, rose in 1877, the year of accession of the present Rāo, Khengārjī III. to £147,968, and no doubt it has been increasing at much the same rate since then.

The following is the list of Rāos:

	A.D.	A.D.
Khengār, or Khengārjī, the first Rāo.	1548 to 1585	
his son . Bhārmal, or Bhārmaljī, or Bhārājī	1585 to 1631	
his son . Bhōjrāj, or Bhōjarājajī . . . . .	1631 to 1645	
his nephew Khengār, or Khengārjī II. . . . .	1645 to 1654	
his brother Tamāchī, <sup>2</sup> or Tamācherjī . . . . .	1655	
his son . Rāyadhan, or Roydhan, or Rāya-		
dhanjī I. . . . .	1666 (?) to 1697	
his son . Prāgmāl, or Prāgjī, or Prāgmāljī I. . . . .	1697 to 1715	
his son . Gōdjī, or Ghōrjī, or Gōhōdājī I. . . . .	1715 to 1718	
his son . Dēsal, or Dēsaljī I. . . . .	1718 to 1741	
his son . Lakha, or Lakhapatjī, deposed his		
father 1741, reigned till . . . . .		1760
his son . Gōdjī, or Gōhōdājī II. . . . .	1760 to 1778	

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<sup>2</sup> Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, who some years ago told me much about the coins of these parts, included Hamirjī in the list as reigning for a few months in 1655. He was, I find, an illegitimate son of Khengārjī II., and is not shown in the Table of Rāos prepared under the authority of Rāo Dēsaljī II. for the Government, nor have I found any mention of his having been placed on the *gadī*, but of course it is quite possible that he might have been on the death of his father, who left no legitimate son.

	A.D.	A.D.
his son . Rāyadhan, or Rāyadhanjī II. . . .	1778 to 1813	
(Prithirāj, or Bhāijī Bāva was twice put upon the throne and twice de- posed during the lifetime of his brother Rāyadhanjī, who was mad for many years, but he is not reckoned amongst the legitimate Rāos.)		
his son . Bhārmal, or Bhāramaljī II. . . .	1814 to 1819	
his son . Dēsal, or Dēsaljī II. . . . .	1819 to 1860	
his son . Prāgmāl, or Prāgmāljī II. . . . .	1860 to 1875	
his son . Khengārjī III. . . . .	1876	

The title of the early rulers of Cutch was that of *Jām*. Khengārjī, as has been mentioned, had the title of *Rāo* conferred on him, to which was added *Śrī*. Rāyadhanjī I. assumed the higher title of *Mahārāo*. Lakhapatjī obtained from Aḥmad Shāh of Dehli the title of *Mahārāo Śrī Mīrza*, to which Muḥammad Shāh of Kābul added that of *Mahārāj Dīrāj*. Since then the full title has been *Mahārājā Dīrāj Mīrza Rāo Śrī*.

THE COINAGE.—The currency of Cutch and Kāthiāwār is unlike that of any other State of India, being peculiar in size, weight, and denomination. We know of no special coinage in Cutch before the time of Bhārajī, and it is reasonable to conclude, after considering the circumstances of the country and times, that there was none, but that the currencies of Gujarāt and Dehli were in use there, together with some of Sind and Persia, immediately before then.

The standard coin is a silver one called a *korī*. How long it has been so called I cannot ascertain, nor is the origin of the name quite satisfactorily explained. It is

believed to be the same as the Hindustani word *kori*, derived from the Sanscrit *kumārī*, a daughter or princess. In the *Tārīkh i Sorāth* (Rehatsek's translation, p. 246), the following story is told of Jām Satrasāl of Navānagar, but it is also told of Rāo Bhārajī and the Emperor Akbar to account for the name:—"Jām Satrasāl ascended the masnad of his father in Samvat 1625, on the 14th of Mahāvad, and was allowed to coin money by Sultān Muzaffār, whose name it bore; but he ordered it to be called Mahmūdi, after his father. The permission was obtained in the following way:—On a certain occasion the Jām presented a rupee to the Sultan with a kori as nazarānah, and said, 'In the same way as the dignity of rajas is augmented by giving their daughters to His Majesty the Sultan, so I wed my "kunwari" to this rupee in the hope that her honour will increase.' The Sultan was pleased with this sally, issued the permission for coining this money, and ordered it to be called *kunwari* in the Hindu language, and by the mispronunciation of the vulgar, it is now called *kori*."

*Kori* cannot, I think, be a corruption of *kauri*, for that word, when not restricted to mean the shell *Cypræa moneta*, is used only in speaking of a copper coin of the smallest value, whereas the kori is a silver one of a value of many small copper pieces.

The pattern of the kori was taken from that of a coin of Muzaffar Shah, the last king of Gujarāt (Pl. iii. 1), but the size and weight are somewhat different, and probably it was meant to correspond to the Kshatrapa and Gupta and perhaps the Gadhiā coins, which were the great currencies of those parts before the rise of the Dehli kings.

It may be noticed, too, that the eastern mouth of the

Indus, which forms one of the boundaries of the State, is also called the Kori.

Capt. Hamilton, in his *New Account of the East Indies*, 1744, vol. i. p. 663, says, "Korees are struck in Cutch under the authority of the Row, and others under that of the Jām of Noanagur. It is a small, handsome silver coin, with Hindu characters, and its average value four to a rupee." Prinsep, in *Indian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 427, speaking of the Sah or Kshatrapa coins, says:—"Their average weight is about 30 grains, agreeing in this respect with the koris mentioned by Hamilton." There appears, however, to be some mistake in this, for a kori weighed about 73 grains, and was of the value of about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  to the rupee.

The only other silver coin struck until the time of Prāgmaljī II. was a half kori similar in pattern to the kori; then the demand for a larger coin, and one more like the English rupee generally current in the country around, arose, and one of the value of 5 koris, called a panchio, was struck, and another of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  koris called an ardhpanchio.

Gold koris are said to have been struck in former times, but I have not seen any of an earlier time than that of Prāgmaljī II.; that Rāo also struck muhrs of the value of 100, and half-muhrs of 50 koris.

The copper coins were originally of three sizes, all of the same pattern as the kori, called tāmbyo or trāmbyo, dokdo or dokro, and dhinglo or dhingalo; of these Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī gave the following account:—

*Tāmbyo* or *trāmbyo* is derived from the Sanscrit *Tāmrika* (Prakrit *tīmbio*). Though its root meaning is "of copper," in practice it is used to mean a half-pice. Originally, I believe, it meant a pice.

*Dokdo* is Prakrit *Dukkado*, or Sanscrit *Dvikṛita*, "twice done," that is twice a *trāmbio*. Though now used to mean one pice it must originally have been two pice.

*Dhingo* is a Cutchi term for "fat," and *lo* is a masculine suffix. So *dhingalo* or *dhinglo* means something (masculine) fat, hence the fattest coin. Though at present it is used for a pice and a half, I think it was originally three pice or *tambios*.

4 Adhadas = 1 Dokdo.

2 Tāmbias = 1 Dokdo.

24 Dokdas = 1 Kori.

16 Dhingalas = 1 Kori.

The Pandit gave no account of the Adhado, it is no doubt the half-*trāmbio*, but I have seen no specimen, and possibly it is a money of account. Lieut. Leech, R.E., gives the following account of the currency in the Bombay Government Records, No. xv. 1837, p. 212:—

2 Trambyas=1 Dokra; 3 Trambyas=1 Dhingla; 21 and 21½ Dokras = 1 Kori; 8 Koris = 1 Silver Rial; 19 Silver Rials = 1 Gold Rial; 3 Koris=1 Hyderabad Rupee; 4 Koris=1 Tatta Rupee; 3½ Koris and 1 Dokra=1 Surat Rupee; 18 Koris=1 Ibramee.

Again, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V. p. iii. the following is given:—

The Rao has a mint at which gold, silver and copper coins are manufactured. The gold coins are the *rāvsāi mohor*, equal to 100 silver *koris*, the half *mohor* equal to 50 silver *koris*, and the golden *kori* equal to 26½ silver *koris*. The silver coins are the *panchio* equal to 5 silver *koris*, *ardhpanchio* equal to 2½ *koris*, the *kori* worth about ¼th of the Imperial Rupee (379 *koris* are equal to 100 Imperial rupees), and the half *kori*. The copper coins are the *dhabu*, equal to ¼th of a *kori*, the *dhingla* equal to



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COINS OF CUTCH AND KĀTHIĀWĀR.





$\frac{1}{16}$ th of a *kori*, the *dokda* equal to  $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a *kori*, and the *trāmbia* equal to  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a *kori*.

At this rate of exchange the relative value of the present Cutch and English India currencies is as follows:—

4 Kori=1 Rupee.

1 Kori=8 Dhabu=24 Dokdas=4 Annas.

2 Dhabu= 6 Dokdas=1 Anna.

1 Dhabu= 3 Dokdas= $\frac{1}{2}$  Anna=6 Pie.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  Dokdas=3 Trāmbiyas= $\frac{1}{2}$  Anna=1 Paisa=3 Pie.

1 Trāmbiyo=1 Pie.

And in accordance with it the common copper Cutch coins of the present day are the 3 Dokdas, the 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  Dokdo, and the Trāmbiyo pieces, corresponding to the  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna, the pice, and the pie.

The coin of Muzaffar Shah Habīb, of Gujarāt, which was taken for the pattern of the Cutch coins, was one of the Hijra year 978. (Pl. iii. 1.)

Obv.	الرحمن بتايد المويد شمس الدنيا والدين النصر	Rev.	In quatrefoil. السلطان ٩٧٨ شاد مظفر Margin illegible.
		R.	Size .65. Wt. 70 grs.

1. The Bhārājī Kori, a close imitation of this Gujarāt coin, differing only in having the name of the Rāo in Nagari राउश्री भाराजी below that of Muzaffar on the reverse.

2. (Pl. iii. 2.) Bhārājī struck another Kori bearing Jahāngīr's name, which I had only heard of but could not come across until I lately found two specimens in the Royal Asiatic Society's Cabinet. It is like a Jahāngīr coin, and was probably

struck in or about the year 1617, when the Rāo went to Ahmadābād to pay his respects to the Emperor.

Obv.	شاہ	Rev.	* *
	بن اکبر باد		* * حب
	نگیر		Trident زد در
	الدین جہا		سکہ
	شاہ		राउ श्री भाराजी

The pattern for this coin was I think one of the Agra mint, the Obv. legend of which was *سکہ زد در شہر اکبر خسرو کیتی*, the most part of which the engraver has failed to copy.

R. Size .6. Wt. 73 grs.

BHĀRĀJĪ. (Pl. iii. 3.) The pattern is the same as No. 1 of Bhārājī. The date is the same, but the ' is deformed. On the obv. is a curiously-shaped figure, intended to represent a Rajput dagger; it was continued in that shape on the coins until not many years ago. On the rev. is the Trident of the goddess Āsāpura, whose devotees the rulers of Cutch were. The name is given *राउ श्री भोजजी*.

R. Size .65. Wt. 70 grs.

KHENGĀRJĪ II. (Pl. iii. 4.) The appearance of this Rāo's coins is quite like those of his predecessor, except the name, which it may be noticed is given as Shengārjī *राउ श्री घंगारजी*.

R. Size .65. Wt. 70 grs.

TAMĀCHĪ. (Pl. iii. 5.) Similar, except the name *राउ श्री तमाचीजी*.

R. Size .6. Wt. 68 grs.

RĀYADHANJĪ I. (Pl. iii. 6.) Similar, except the name *राउ श्री रायधनजी*.

R. Size .65. Wt. 70 grs.

PRĀGMALJĪ I. Similar, except the name *राउ श्री प्रागजी*.

GŌHŌDAJĪ I. (Pl. iii. 7.) Similar, except the name *राउ श्री गोहोड*.

R. Size .65. Wt. 70 grs.

DESALJĪ I. (Pl. iii. 8.) Similar, but the Persian letters are more debased, and the numeral 1 is upside down, and the name राउञ्ची देशलज.

Æ. Size .6. Wt. 68 grs.

LAKHAPATJĪ. (Pl. iii. 9.) In the coinage of this Rāo we lose the pattern followed so long. His Kori has more the appearance of a Dehli coin, and probably was made so out of compliment to the Emperor Ahmad Shah, whose name is on it, and who conferred on Lakhapatji the title Mahārāo.

Obv. Doubtful.

Rev.

Debased Persian letters.

Dagger as on previous coins.

شاه  
سلطان  
احمد

महाराउञ्ची लखप

GŌHŌDAJĪ II. The coins are similar to those of Gōhōdajī I. There is only some difference in the form of the lettering. They are very scarce.

RĀYADHANJĪ II. (Pl. iii. 10.) Similar, but letters and figures of the date are more debased, and the name राउञ्ची रायध.

Æ. Size .55. Wt. 70 grs.

Copper coins of this Rāo are common, dokdas, tambiyas, and dhingalas; they are of the same pattern as the silver koris.

BHĀRMALJĪ II. (Pl. iii. 11.) Similar, but lettering and figures are so corrupt as to be illegible. Name is राउञ्ची भारमलज.

Æ. Size .6. Wt. 68 grs.

Half Kori.

Æ. Size .45. Wt. 33 grs.

DESALJĪ II. On the accession of this Rāo the pattern of the coinage was changed, and that which had been in use during so many reigns given up. The coins of the first year of the Rāo's reign are of the following type.

## SILVER.

1. Kori. Samvat 1876, A.H. 1234. (Pl. iii. 12.)

Obv. بادشاه غازي  
محمد اکبر  
سکه  
تراشتری देशलजी  
Rev. سنه ۱۲۳۴  
بهوج  
ضرب  
۹۷۹۶  
Dagger  
R. Size .55. Wt. 68 grs.

Others occur of the same pattern dated Samvat 1877 to 1882, but having the Hijra date unaltered from ۱۲۳۴.

The Samvat dates on all these coins are in numerals of rather unusual shape, some instances very much so; they are mostly copies of Gujarāṭī numerals. For convenience of type they are here given in ordinary Devanagari.

2. Kori. Samvat 1884, A.H. 1252. (Pl. iii. 13.)

Obv. بادشاه غازي  
محمد اکبر  
سکه  
بهوج  
ضرب ۱۲۵۲  
Rev. > \* <  
تراشتری दि  
शलजी Trident  
۹۷۷۸ Dagger

Very corrupt Persian lettering. R. Size .6. Wt. 70 grs.

3. Half Kori. Samvat 1895. Same pattern.

R. Size .5. Wt. 35 grs.

4. Kori. Samvat 1914-1915. (Pl. iii. 14.)

Obv. بادشاه غازي  
بهادر شاه  
سکه  
ضرب بهوج  
Rev. Trident تراشत्री  
देशलजी  
९९९४ Dagger  
R. Size .6. Wt. 70 grs.

5. Half Kori. Same pattern and date.

R. Size .5. Wt. 35 grs.

## COPPER.

6. Dhingalo. A.H. 1259.

Obv. شاه  
اکبر باد غازي  
سنه  
۱۲۵۹

Rev. Trident بهوج  
ضرب  
راڙڙي ديش  
لڙي

Æ. Size .8. Wt. 184 grs.

7. Dokdo. Same pattern.

Æ. Size .7. Wt. 124 grs.

8. Trāmbiyo. Same pattern.

Æ. Size .5. Wt. 50 grs.

9. Dokdo. (Pl. iii. 15.)

Obv. بادشاه غازي  
بهادر شاه  
سنه  
\* \* \* \*

Rev. بهوج  
ضرب  
راڙڙي ديش  
لڙي

Æ. Size .7. Wt. 124 grs.

## PRĀGMALĪ II.

## GOLD.

1. Muhr. Samvat 1923, A.D. 1866. (Pl. iii. 16.)

Obv. Area. ملکہ  
معظم  
کوپن وکٹوریا  
۱۰۰ ضرب  
نکر مہر کوپے  
۱۸۶۶

Rev. Area. Trident, Crescent, Dagger.

مور کورو ۹۰۰  
سونی جرن ک  
چھ مہن ۹۵۲۳

Margin माहाराजा धिराज मिरजा  
महाराज श्री प्रागमलजी  
बहादुर

A. Size 1.15. Wt. 288 grs.

2. Half Muhr. Samvat 1930, A.D. 1874. (Pl. iii. 17.)

Obv. As No. 1, but last two lines

६०  
بهوج نگر کوپے  
مہر نیم ۱۸۷۴

Rev. Area. Trident, Crescent, Dagger.

मोहोर अर्ध  
कोरी ५० जरब  
कच्छ भुज १९३०

Margin as No. 1.

AV. Size .95. Wt. 144 grs.

It is remarkable that Muhr is spelled मोर on one coin and मोहोर on the other.

# SILVER.

3. Kori. Samvat 1921, A.D. 1863. (Pl. iii. 18.)

Obv. ملکہ

Rev. Trident, Crescent, Dagger.

معظم  
کون وکٹوریا  
ضرب بہوج  
۱۸۶۳

महाराज श्री  
प्रागमलजी  
१९२१

R. Size .6. Wt. 70 grs.

4. Pānchio, or 5-Kori piece. Samvat 1932, A.D. 1875.

Obv. in ornamental foliate Border, as No. 1 Gold, but last two lines

بہوج نگر کورے پنچ  
۱۸۷۵

Rev. Area in Circle, Trident, Crescent, Dagger.

कोरी पांच  
जरब कच्छभुज  
१९३२

Margin as No. 1 Gold.

Size 1.3. Wt. 206 grs.

5. Ardpanchio, of same pattern and date, but with designation of coin

کورے دو  
ونیم

and कोरी अदो

## COPPER.

## 1. Trāmbiyo. A.D. 1865. (Pl. iii. 19.)

Obv.

و  
کوین  
وکتوریا  
۱۸۶۵

Rev.

و  
بہوج  
Trident ضرب Six-rayed Star  
राउ श्री प्राग  
मलजी Dagger

Æ. Size '6. Wt. 70 grs.

The meaning of the , above inscription on both sides is obscure.

## 2. Trāmbiyo. A.D. 1865.

Obv. Trident

चावी  
यो जरब  
भुज

Rev.

تران بیہ  
یک  
۱۸۶۵  
ضرب

Rose of 8 petals

Dagger

Æ. Size '6. Wt. 54 grs.

## 3. Dokdo. A.D. 1867-1868. (Pl. iii. 20.)

Obv.

Trident  
दोकडो  
जरबभु  
ज .

Rev.

دو کٹا  
یک  
۱۸۶۷  
ضرب

Dagger

Æ. Size '75. Wt. 96 grs.

4. Dokdo. A.D. 1868. (Pl. iii. 21.) Similar to No. 3, but with pellets on either side of trident and at both ends of second line of letters on obv. Æ. Size '75. Wt. 99 grs.

## 5. Trāmbiyo. A.D. 1867 and 1868. (Pl. iii. 21.)

Obv.

चावीयो  
जरबभु  
ज .

Rev. As No. 2, but date १८६८.

On some specimens the date is १८६८ by mistake.

Æ. Size '6. Weight 53 grs.



6. 3-Dokdo piece. Samvat 1925, A.D. 1868. (Pl. iii. 22.)

Obv. Centre in Circle

चन  
दोकडा  
Dagger

Margin—जरब . कच्छभुज . संवत . १९२५ .

Rev. Centre in Circle

دوک ط د  
سنة  
۱۸۶۸

Margin—ضرب کچھبھوج نگر

Æ. Size 1.3. Wt. 298 grs.

This coin is peculiar in having neither the name of Queen Victoria nor that of the Rāo upon it. In the Nagari, Kacchbhūj is written as one word. In conversation the country is very commonly spoken of as Kacchbhūj, and sometimes as Kacchnūj. The भु on this and other coins is curiously formed, more like नु, and may possibly be intended for the latter, making the word Kacchnūj.

7. 3-Dokdo piece. Samvat 1925, A.D. 1869. (Pl. iv. 23.)

Obv. Centre in Circle

Trident  
१९२५

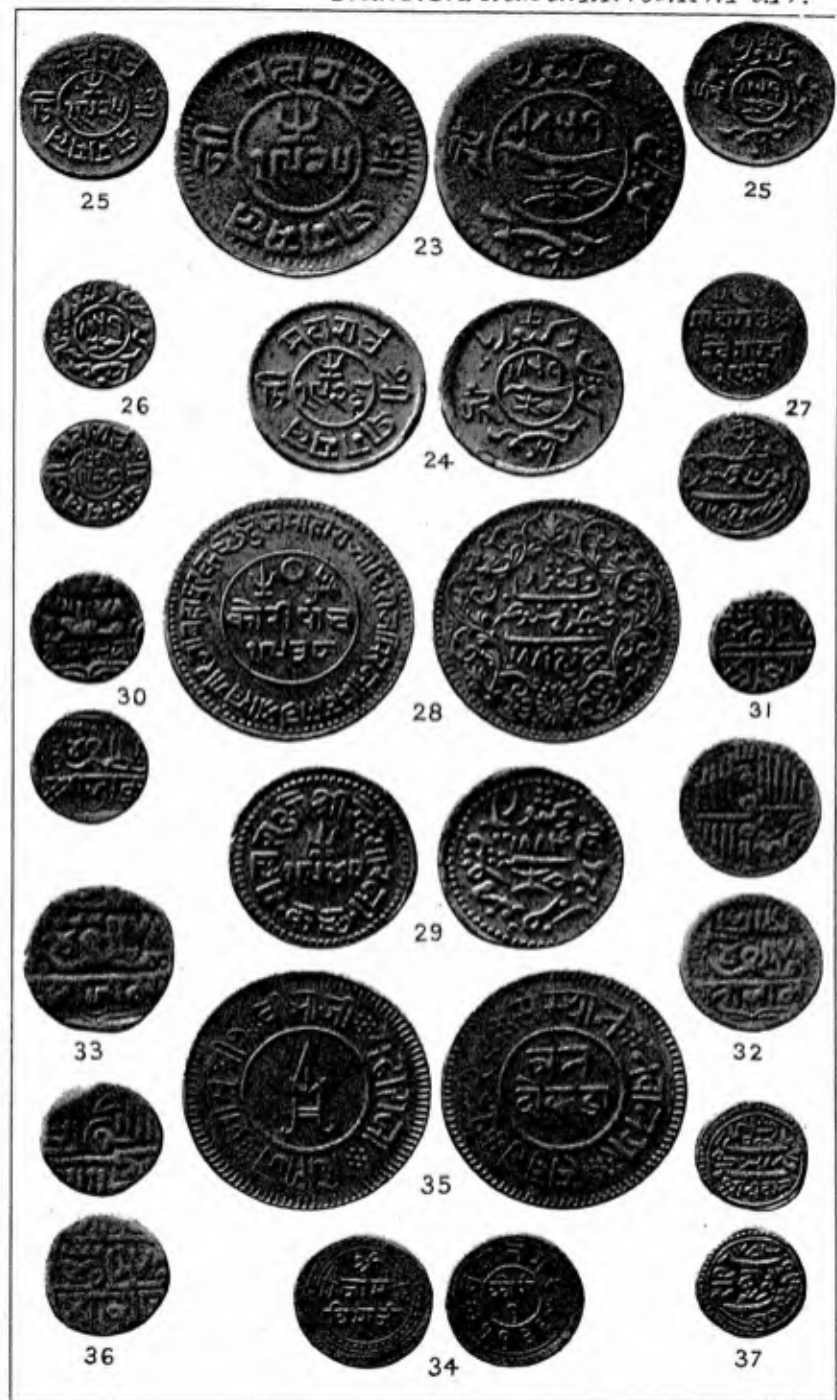
Margin—महाराज श्री प्रागमल जी

Rev. Centre in Circle

۱۸۶۹  
سنة  
Dagger

Margin—ملکہ معظمہ کوین وکٹوریا

Æ. Size 1.3. Wt. 298 grs.



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8.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ -Dokdo piece. Same pattern and date. (Pl. iv. 24.)

Æ. Size .95. Wt. 152 grs.

9. Dokdo. Same pattern and date. (Pl. iv. 25.)

Æ. Size .8. Wt. 99 grs.

10. Trāmbiyo. Same pattern and date. (Pl. iv. 26.)

Æ. Size .55. Wt. 50 grs.

This pattern continued to be used from the year 1869 to 1875, which was the last of Prāgmaljī's reign.

### KHENGĀRJĪ III.

#### SILVER.

1. Kori. Samvat 1932, A.D. 1876. (Pl. iv. 27.)

Obv. in Circle **ملکہ**

Rev. in Circle.

معظم  
کون وکتوریا  
ضرب  
بہوج ۱۸۷۶

Trident, Crescent, Dagger.

माहाराज श्री  
खेंगारजी  
१९३२

Æ. Size .7. Wt. 70 grs.

2. Panchiō. Samvat 1938, A.D. 1881. (Pl. iv. 28.)

Obv. Centre within ornamental foliate Margin.

وکتوریا  
قیصر ہند ضرب  
بہوج ۱۸۸۱

Rev. Centre in Circle. Trident, Crescent, Dagger.

कोरी पांच  
१९३८

Margin within Circle of Dots—माहाराजा धिराज  
मिरजा महाराज श्री खेंगारजी बहादुर कच्छ भुज

Æ. Size 1.3. Wt. 206 grs.

## COPPER.

1. 3-Dokdo piece. Samvat 1944, A.D. 1887.

Obv. Centre.

१८८७

سنه

Rajput Dagger

Margin within dotted Circle—

وکتوریا قیصر هند ضرب بهوج

Rev. Centre.

Trident

१९४४

Margin within dotted Circle—

महाराष्ट्री श्री खेगारजी \* कच्छ \*

Æ. Size 1.3 Wt. 298 grs.

2. 1½-Dokdo piece. Samvat 1940, A.D. 1884. (Pl. iv. 29.)

Obv. As No. 1, but date

१८८४

Rev. As No. 1, but date

१९४०

Single pellet before

and after कच्छ

Æ. Size 1. Wt. 148 grs.

## KĀTHIĀWĀR.

Kāthiāwār is a peninsula stretching out from the west of Gujarāt just south of Cutch, from which it is separated by the Gulf of Cutch. It has an area of about 35,500 square miles, and a population of 2,752,404, according to the last census. It comprises, besides some districts belonging to Baroda, the Portuguese settlement of Diu, and some districts of the collectorate of Ahmadābād, 193 estates of local Chiefs and landlords varying in size and importance from that of the Jām of Navānagar, extending through 3,800 square miles, or Junāgad with

its 890 villages, or Bhaunagar with its 400,600 inhabitants, to some composed of but a portion of a village containing but two or three families. The Chiefs are divided by the Government into seven classes, with functions and privileges varying from full civil and criminal jurisdiction to powers little more than nominal. Of these States but three, Navānagar, Porbandar, and Junāgad have a special coinage.

*Navānagar State* lies in the north-west of Kāthiāwār, on the south of the Gulf of Cutch; its area is about 3,800 miles, population 379,611 and revenue £182,000. Jām Rāval, of whom mention has already been made, conquered the country, and when driven out of Cutch by Khengārjī settled there, consolidated the State, and founded the city of Navānagar in 1540.

In 1591 Navānagar was conquered by the Viceroy of Gujarāt, and became one of the tributaries of the Dehli Empire, and remained so, at any rate nominally, until the breaking up of the Empire. Early in this century British interference was called for. The State now pays a tribute to the Government, and also a small amount to the Gaikwār and to the Junāgad State. The revenue is good, and the State is prosperous under the present Jām, who is a fine specimen of an old Rajpūt Chief and a noted sportsman.

## LIST OF THE JĀMS OF NAVĀNAGAR.

		A.D.	A.D.
	Rāval . . . . .	1540 to 1561	
his son . . . .	Vibhājī or Vibhojī . . . . .	1561 to 1569	
his son . . . .	Satrasāl or Satarsāl or Satājī .	1569 to 1616	
his son . . . .	Jasājī or Jasojī . . . . .	1616 to 1624	

	A.D.	A.D.
his nephew . . . Lākhājī or Lākhojī . . . . .	1624 to 1645	
his son . . . . . Ranmaljī . . . . .	1645 to 1661	
his brother . . . Rāisinghī . . . . .	1661 to 1663	
his son . . . . . Tamāchī . . . . .	1663 to 1690	
his son (adopted?) Lākhājī or Lākhojī . . . . .	1690 to 1709	
his son . . . . . Rāisinghī . . . . .	1709 to 1710	
his son . . . . . Tamāchī . . . . .	1710 to 1743	
his son . . . . . Lākhājī . . . . .	1743 to 1768	
his son . . . . . Jasājī or Jasojī . . . . .	1768 to 1814	
his brother . . . Satājī . . . . .	1814 to 1820	
Jasājī's adopted son Ranmaljī . . . . .	1820 to 1852	
his son . . . . . Vibhājī, K.C.S.I. . . . .	1852	

COINAGE.—It has been mentioned that the Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarāt gave permission to Jām Satrasāl to coin money; the Tārīkh-i-Sorāth adds, "the coin bore the name of the Sultan, but he ordered that it should be called Mahmūdi after his father Mahmūd. The coins have, however, for many years past been commonly called Jāmis." The standard is the Jāmi Kōri, they have continued to be struck of the same pattern, that of Satrasāl, until varied by the present Jām some 15 years ago. It will be seen that the pattern is that of the Cutch kōri, except that instead of the Rāo's name, "Śrī Jāmji" is added. Gold kōris of the same pattern were struck first it is said in 1863 at the rate of 32 silver to one gold, but they soon fell out of circulation. The copper coins are half dokdas, dokdas of which 30 go to the silver kōri, dhanglas equal to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dokdas, and dhabūs which consist of 3 dokdas. The pattern was the same as that of the kōri until the new coinage was introduced by the present Jām. About 140,600 kōris are coined every year.

denominative  
of the coins.

## OLD COINAGE.

Kori. (Pl. iv. 30, 31.) Similar to the Cutch Kori, except that instead of Rāo's name below Muzaffar is श्री जामजी. The 1 of the date is commonly corrupted into a 1, giving the date as 178. The Persian lettering of some of the coins too is very corrupt.

R. Size .65. Wt. 70 grs.

Half Kori.

R. Size .5. Wt. 35 grs.

Dokdo of same pattern. (Pl. iv. 32.)

Æ. Size .7. Wt. 107 grs.

Dhinghlo of same pattern. (Pl. iv. 33.)

Æ. Size .75. Wt. 180 grs.

## NEW COINAGE.

## SILVER.

Kori. Samvat 1936, A.D. 1879. (Pl. iv. 34.)

Obv. Centre in Circle कोरी

१

Margin within double Circle नवा नगर \* १९३६ \*

Rev. Within two plain and one beaded Circle

Rajput Dagger श्री Rajput Dagger

जाम

विभाजी

R. Size .7. Wt. 72 grs.

## COPPER.

3-Dokda piece. Samvat 1928, A.D. 1871. (Pl. iv. 35.)

Obv. Centre in Circle चन

दोकडा

Margin in milled Circle—

संस्थान \* नवानगर \* संवत् \* १९२८ \*

Rev. Centre in Circle Rajput Dagger

Margin in milled Circle—

महाराजा \* धिराज \* जामश्री \* विभाजी \*

Æ. Size 1.25. Wt. 274 grs.



It will be seen that on the silver coin the Jām's name appears as Vibhājī and on the copper as Vībhājī; the latter is probably a mistake. The lettering on the copper coin is faulty in two or three places and the second and fourth numerals of the date are of peculiar shape; after the word Śrī also there is a figure like an Arabic 3, the meaning of which I cannot make out. The die was probably cut in England by one who did not know the characters, but did his best to copy a written legend.

Dokdo. Old Muzaffar pattern, struck in a collar. Lettering corrupt, date 148. श्रीजाम. Size .75. Wt. 96 grs.

Half Dokdo. Of same pattern. Size .6. Wt. 44 grs.

*Porbandar State* is a strip of territory lying along the west coast of Kāthiāwār, between the Barda hills and the Arabian Sea, having the Navānagar State on the north and the Junāgad State on the east. Its area is about 600 square miles and its population 85,785. The ruling chief, whose title is that of "Rānā," belongs to the Rājput Jethvas, one of the most ancient of all the ruling races in Western India. The Jethvas are believed to have entered into this province not later than about A.D. 900 to 1000, and perhaps earlier. According to one genealogy the present Rānā is the 1,048th ruler in succession, according to the one generally accepted he is the 178th, but there are reasons for thinking that several names in it are doubtful; however, the list of the last 25 is reliable, and their annals synchronize with general history. For the purposes of this paper it is not necessary to go back farther than A.D. 1525, when Khimojī ascended the throne, and during whose reign Jām Rāval captured a large part of his dominions to form the State of Navānagar. The list from that time is as follows:—

		A.D.	A.D.
	Khimojī . . . . .	1525 to 1550	
his son . . .	Rāmdejī IV. . . . .	1550	
his son . . .	Bhānjī . . . . .	1550	
his son . . .	Khimojī . . . . .	1550 to 1626	
his son . . .	Vikmālji II. . . . .	1626 to 1671	
his son . . .	Sultānjī . . . . .	1671 to 1699	
his son . . .	Bhānjī . . . . .	1699 to 1709	
his son . . .	Khimojī . . . . .	1709 to 1728	
his son . . .	Vikmālji III. . . . .	1728 to 1757	
his son . . .	Sultānjī . . . . .	1757 to 1804	
his son . . .	Hālojī . . . . .	1804 to 1812	
his son . . .	Prathirāj Khimojī . . .	1813 to 1831	
his son . . .	Bhojrājji Vikmātji . . .	1831 reigning	

The State was tributary to the Dehli empire, and came under British protection about the year 1808. The seat of the rule of the Rānā was transferred to Porbandar from Chayā the old capital in 1785. The revenue of the State is £40,000.

COINAGE.—It is not known when the coining of koris was commenced in this State, but probably it was about the same time as in Navānagar. The coins are similar to the old coinage of Navānagar, in silver and copper, and are called “rānā shai” from the name upon them, “Sri Rānā.” About 565,000 rānā shai koris are coined every year.

Silver Kori. (Pl. iv. 36.) Of the same pattern as the old Navānagar one, but with श्री राणा instead of श्री जामजी.

Æ. Size .6. Wt. 73 grs.

Copper Dokdo. Of the same pattern.

Æ. Size .7. Wt. 114 grs.

*Junāgad State.*—This State is situated in the south-west of Kāthiāwār, and is one of the largest, and in several ways the most interesting. Its area is about 3,800 square miles, and the population 484,190. The country is generally hilly, with extensive plains of very rich soil, which are well cultivated by a large population. The highest range of hills is that of Gīrnār, just to the east of Junāgad town, a most celebrated place for pilgrimage, especially for the Jains, whose western side and summit are covered with temples and holy places, even to its highest peak, 3,666 feet above the sea. About the hill and extending over an area of about 1,400 square miles is the great Gir forest, in which are to be found the only lions now left in India. The town of Junāgad, *i.e.* "the old fort," is one of the most picturesque in India, and second to none in antiquity and historical interest. Its ancient citadel in the upper part of the present town was through many generations the stronghold of successive rulers, and is now a fine example of an old Indian fortress, in a great measure cut out in solid rock, containing many curious archaeological remains, has been the scene of many fights, and sustained many historical sieges. Between it and Gīrnār lies the celebrated stone on which are cut the edicts of Asoka (3rd century B.C.) and the inscriptions of Rūdra Dāma, the Kshatrpa (2nd century A.D.), and the king Skānda Gupta (5th century A.D.).

In the State, too, is Somnāth Pātan, where was the famous shrine of Śiva, which was sacked and destroyed by Mahmūd Ghaznivī, who then carried off its gates to Ghazni (A.D. 1026), whence they were brought, after the capture of that latter place by the British, to Āgra, where they now lie. The place is now called Verāwal,

it is a most picturesque and interesting one, and still most holy to Hindus, although the ancient shrine is in ruins.

The last line of kings, Rājput̃s of the Chudāsama tribe, ended in A.D. 1472, when Mahmūd Bīgara of Gujarāt conquered the last of them. Afterwards, with the rest of Gujarāt, the country became a dependency of the Dehli Empire in the time of Akbar, ruled by governors appointed by the Viceroy in Guzarāt. About A.D. 1735, when the power of the Empire was passing away, one Sher Khān Bābī, a descendant of Bahādur Khān Bābī, an Afghan, who had risen to distinction under Shāh Jahān, expelled the Moghul governor, established his own rule, and became the first Nawāb. The list of Nawābs is as follows :—

	A.D.	A.D.
Sher Khān Bābī, who took the name of Bahādur Khān . . . . .	1735 to 1758	
his son . . Mahābat Khān . . . . .	1758 to 1775	
his son . . Hāmid Khān . . . . .	1775 to 1811	
his son . . Bahādur Khān . . . . .	1811 to 1840	
his son . . Hāmid Khān . . . . .	1840 to 1851	
his brother Mahābat Khān, K.C.S.I. . . . .	1851 to 1882	
his son . . Bahādur Khānjī, G.C.I.E. . . . .	1882 to 1892	
his brother Rasal Khānjī . . . . .	1892 reigning	

In 1820 the State came under the paramount power of the British; the Nawāb pays a tribute to the Government and to the Gaikwār, but receives small contributions from many of the lesser Chiefs of Kāthiāwār. The gross revenue is about £156,000 a year. The State has been fortunate in late years in having a very able Diwān, for the late Nawāb was of little use as a ruler, under

whose care the administration of law and order has been maintained, and the general welfare of the State much improved, so that now it is a well ordered one and prosperous.

THE COINAGE.—We do not know of any coins having been issued by the Chudāsama kings who reigned in Junāgad from the end of the 9th to the latter part of the 15th centuries. Before that time the coins of the western Kshatrapas,<sup>3</sup> and to some extent of the Gupta kings,<sup>4</sup> were no doubt the currency. After its annexation to Dehli Junāgad was one of the mint towns of the Empire, and coins of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb bearing the name are not uncommon. The coinage of the present Nawābs began, it is believed, in the time of Bahādur Khān, when in 1829 the then Diwan, Ranchorjī Amarjī, designed the first coin, which had on the obverse श्रीहाटकेश्वराय नमः "Salutation to the divine Hātakeswara" (the name of the god of his race); and on the reverse श्रीरघुनाथजी नमः "Salutation to Raghunāthjī," his father. It is not surprising that the Muhammadan Nawāb forbade its circulation, indeed, some say that it was not meant to be current, but intended only for the daily gift to the Brahmins. It is called Hātakeshwar Sāi kori, and is now rare, I have not seen a specimen.

Diwan Ranchorjī then brought out the coin which was continued with little alteration until 1875. It is called "Diwān Sāi kori," and is as follows:—

<sup>3</sup> "The Western Kshatrapas." By Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, edited by E. J. Rapson, Roy. Asiat. Soc. Journal, vol xxii. n.s.

<sup>4</sup> "Coinage of the early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty." Roy. Asiat. Soc. Journal, 1889, by Vincent A. Smith.

Silver Kori. Samvat 1908, A.H. 1268. (Pl. iv. 37.)

Obv. In dotted Circle

بادشاہ غازی  
محمد اکبر نے  
سکہ  
دی دوان

Rev. In dotted Circle

۱۲۶۸  
سنہ  
وا  
جلوس  
ضرب  
Sword

R. Size '6. Wt. 69 grs.

The Persian lettering is bad, on some very corrupt. The dates on some are wrong, *i.e.* the year of the two eras does not correspond. **وا** stands for **वाबी**, the family name of the Nawāb, **गड** represents Junāgad, indeed, it is the usual word used in speaking of the place; an inhabitant would call it Gad, not Junāgad, when talking about it. It is said that the Diwan Ranchorjī persuaded the Nawāb that the **दोवान** on the coin was a title which had been conferred on one of his ancestors by the Dehli Emperor, but really it was put there for his own glorification. It may be noted, however, that Ranchorjī makes no allusion to the origin or issue of these coins in the *Tārīkh-i-Sorāth*, of which he was the writer.

In Samvat 1932 (A.D. 1875), during the reign of Mahābat Khān, the Emperor's name, **محمد اکبر**, was altered to that of the Nawab **مہابت خان**, but the letters are so ill-shaped on many of the coins that they may be taken as well for one name as the other.

Extension of trade and intercourse with India, especially through the railways, are causing the use of the kori currency to decline, and accounts to be kept and business done in the rupee and its divisions; the charges on the Kāthiāwār railway are all made in the ordinary

Indian currency, and one sees as much of it as of the State coins in Junāgad and Porbandar.

In the *Bombay Gazetteer* it is stated, "formerly Bhaunagar had a local mint, but it was closed in 1840, under an arrangement with the British Government"; I was unable to learn anything about the coinage when I visited Bhaunagar four years ago, and one of the Ministers, son of a former Diwan of the State, who was a collector of Indian coins, had no specimen in his cabinet, nor knew anything about them.

In the small Portuguese settlement of Diu, in the south of Kāthiāwār, the Indo-Portuguese coins<sup>5</sup> are in use; and in and about Dwārka and other parts of the Gaikwār's dominions, the Baroda State coins are met with in circulation.

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<sup>5</sup> Contributions to the Indo-Portuguese Numismatics. By J. Gerson da Cunha, Bombay, 1883.

O. CODRINGTON.







## V.

### GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1894.

(See Plate V.)

DURING the year 1894 (January to December) the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum has acquired 648 coins of the Greek class, 31 of which are gold and electrum, 164 silver, and 453 bronze. These coins have been acquired mainly by purchase, but some are gifts due to the kindness of Mr. G. A. Davies, Mr. D. B. Fay, Mr. W. R. Hubbard, Mr. P. S. King, the late Mr. H. Montagu, Mr. W. T. Ready, Mr. E. J. Seltman, Mr. Cecil Torr, Dr. Hermann Weber, and Mr. F. Weekes.

A description of noteworthy specimens among these acquisitions is given in the following pages.<sup>1</sup>

#### POSEIDONIA (LUCANIA).

1. *Obv.*—ΠΟΜ Poseidon, wearing chlamys, advancing r., and striking with trident held in r.; l. arm extended; border of dots.

*Rev.*—Cuttle-fish; circular incuse.

Æ. Size .85. Wt. 8.7 grs. [Pl. V. 1.]


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<sup>1</sup> Important Greek acquisitions of the Department of Coins and Medals for the years 1887—1893 will be found described by me in the *Num. Chron.* for 1888, p. 1 f.; 1889, p. 249 f.; 1890, p. 311 f.; cf. 1891, p. 116; 1891, p. 117 f.; 1892,

This coin (presented by Mr. D. Bowditch Fay) is remarkable for having on the reverse a cuttle-fish instead of a bull. The cuttle-fish occurs as a symbol on bronze coins of Poseidonia,<sup>2</sup> and as a type on the silver of Croton.<sup>3</sup>

PHILIP II. (MACEDONIA).

2. *Obv.*—Male head r., laur. (Apollo?).

*Rev.*—ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (in exergue). Driver in biga, r.;  
beneath horses, .

*N.* Size .85. Wt. 265.2 grs. [Pl. V. 2.]

3. *Obv.*—Male head r., laur. (Apollo?).

*Rev.*—ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (in exergue). Driver in biga, r.;  
beneath horses, scorpion.

*N.* Size .9. Wt. 264.4 grs. (Style similar  
to No. 2.)

These coins are additions to the small series of gold diastaters bearing the types of Philip of Macedon. A specimen closely resembling our No. 3 is in the French Collection, and has been published by M. Babelon in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1892, p. 108 f.; Pl. IV. 4. It was one of three examples brought to Paris by an Oriental dealer.<sup>4</sup> Our specimens formed part of a small hoard said

p. 1 f.; 1893, p. 1 f.; 1894, p. 1 f. I have again had the advantage of consulting the section on Greek Coins written by Mr. Barclay Head for the Report on the British Museum annually presented to the House of Commons.

<sup>2</sup> *B. M. Cat., Italy*, p. 272, No. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 347, No. 48; cf. Sambon, *Recherches sur les monn. de la presqu'île italique*, "Poseidonia," p. 275, No. 22:—*rev.* "Crabe ou poulpe."

<sup>4</sup> A specimen with the obverse head to l. was published by

to have been discovered some few years ago near Constantinople, and were selected by the British Museum from several others belonging to an English officer.<sup>5</sup> The scorpion on No. 3 is a new symbol, but the monogram  $\Delta$  on No. 2 is found on a didrachm of Philip II. (Müller, *Num. d'Alex.*, "Philip II.," No. 300 *incert.*).

It is evident that these specimens do not belong to the reign of Philip himself, but are barbarous copies made either in Gaul or in the Danubian country, probably not later than the third century B.C., as they are much nearer the prototype than are the mass of Gaulish imitations.<sup>6</sup> In the third century the people of Byzantium were engaged in continual warfare with the neighbouring barbarians, and in B.C. 297 they agreed to pay the Gauls a yearly tribute of 3,000 pieces of gold, a tribute subsequently increased to 80 talents.

No double staters actually contemporary with Philip are known to be extant; but Müller<sup>7</sup> argues that such must have been struck, from the existence (in the Thorwaldsen Museum) of a plated specimen of good workmanship, and apparently a forgery of the time of Philip.

F. Lenormant in *Rev. Num.*, N.S., 1862, p. 397 f. Another di-stater was found in 1892 in the neighbourhood of Périgueux in France, and another was in the collection of Mr. H. Montagu (Sotheby, *Sale Catal. of an important Collection of Greek Coins*, 11th Dec., 1894, lot 102, Pl. I.), with symbol, thunder-bolt.

<sup>5</sup> Some of these were purchased by Mr. H. Montagu for his collection.

<sup>6</sup> Among the imitations of the Gaulish peoples, good copies of the original occasionally occur, e.g., De la Tour, *Atlas de Monnaies Gauloises*, Pl. XV., No. 4837.

<sup>7</sup> *Num. d'Alex.*, p. 336, note 7.

## THASOS.

4. *Obv.*—Head of bearded Dionysos l., wreathed with ivy.

*Rev.*—ΘΑΞΙΟΝ Herakles, kneeling r., shooting with bow; he wears skirt, and lion's skin over head and shoulders. In field, r., branch of olive or laurel; linear square; the whole in incuse square.

*N.* Size .5. Wt. 60.8 grs. [Pl. V. 8.]

A fine specimen of the rare half-staters of Thasos (*circ.* B.C. 411), differing, in respect of the reverse symbol, from the examples of the coin in the Paris (Mion., i. 433; *Sup.* ii., Pl. VIII. 6) and Berlin (Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, i., p. 287, No. 8) collections.<sup>8</sup> Other gold coins of Thasos show the head of a Dionysos youthful (see Greenwell in *Num. Chron.*, 1880, p. 5, Pl. I. 4).

A bas-relief found in Thasos shows Herakles kneeling and shooting with his bow, and the representation closely resembles that found on the gold and silver coins of the island.<sup>9</sup>

LYSIMACHUS (KING OF THRACE. B.C. 306—281).

5. *Obv.*—Head of Alexander the Great r., with diadem and horn of Zeus Ammon.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ Athena, wearing helmet, chiton, and peplos, l., on ornamented seat; in outstretched r. Nike crowning name of Lysimachus; l. arm rests on shield ornamented with lion's head; behind, spear; in field l., cornucopiæ and lyre.

*R.* Size 1.2. Wt. 265.6 grs. [Pl. V. 4.]

<sup>8</sup> A branch occurs as symbol on a silver coin of Thasos in Brit. Mus. (Cat. *Thraces*, "Thasos," No. 50; "B.C. 400—350").

<sup>9</sup> See Joubin, *Bull. corr. hell.*, 1894, p. 64; Pl. XVI.; cf. S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, 1895, p. 106.

This tetradrachm is worth photographing on account of its unusually fine style and preservation. The combination of symbols—cornucopiæ and lyre—does not occur in Müller's *Lysimachus* or in the Catalogue of the Berlin collection (*Beschreibung*, vol. i.).

A lyre of the same elongated form <sup>10</sup> occurs on tetradrachms of Lysimachus assigned to Mytilene (Müller, No. 403). Our coin resembles the Mytilenean in style, but the absence from it of the monogram ΑΑ found on Müller's No. 403 and the presence of the cornucopiæ render the attribution doubtful. A cornucopiæ is found as symbol on Lysimachian coins of Cœla (Müller, No. 96).

#### THRACO-MACEDONIAN.

6. *Obv.*—Bust and right arm, uncovered, of nymph r., caressing head of bull l.; border of dots.

*Rev.*—Incuse square divided into four unequal compartments.

R. Size .55. Wt. 28.7 grs. [Pl. V. 5.]

This coin resembles, in its flat fabric and in some points of type and style, various uncertain pieces of Thrace and Macedon (*cf.* Head, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Macedonia*, p. 152 f.). It is of an early period—*circ.* B.C. 500—the hair of the female figure being indicated by dots. At first sight Europa and the bull may seem to be represented as on a well-known coin of Phæstus in Crete, showing the seated Europa and the forepart of a bull (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Crete*, Pl. XIV. 16). It must be remembered, however, that the bull (or bull's head) is a common Macedonian type having

<sup>10</sup> A lyre of square form (as on coins of Chalcidice) and the letter A occur on tetradrachms of Lysimachus classed by Müller (No. 854) as "uncertain of Macedon."

nothing to do with Zeus, and the female figure on this coin need not therefore be Europa. Probably she is a nymph belonging to the cycle of Dionysos, like the nymphs who, on early Macedonian money, are shown supporting an amphora (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Macedonia*, p. 135), or in the rude embrace of a centaur. The type on our coin is curiously abbreviated, and it is probable that if drachms or other higher denominations of the piece were struck, they displayed the female figure at full length.

LARISSA (THESSALY).

7. *Obv.*—Head of the nymph Larissa, wearing ampyx, three-quarter face towards l.; border of dots.

*Rev.*—ΛΑ Ρ ΙΞΑ Youth wearing chlamys and petasos leading horse r.; circular incuse.

R. Size .8. Wt. 94.3 grs. [Pl. V. 6.]

A drachm (B.C. 400—344) formerly in the Photiades collection (*Sale Cat.*, p. 8, No. 97), remarkable for the group on the reverse, which takes the place of the horse usually found on coins of this series.

MELIBŒA (THESSALY).

8. *Obv.*—Head of nymph, wreathed with bunches of grapes, three-quarter face towards l.; border of dots.

*Rev.*—Μ Ε ΛΙΒΟ Ε Vine branch with two bunches of grapes and two leaves; circular incuse.

R. Size .5. Wt. 18.2 grs. [Pl. V. 7.]

A quarter drachm of the period B.C. 400—344. It is the first silver coin of Melibœa that has come to light, though similar types are found on bronze coins of the place (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Thessaly*, p. 35).

## METHYDRIMUM (THESSALY).

9. *Obv.*—Head of nymph l., hair rolled.

*Rev.*—**ΜΕΘΥ  
ΔΡΕΙΩ Ν** Nike advancing l.; r. hand raised, holding wreath; l. hand lowered, holding another wreath; slightly circular incuse.

Æ. Size .65. [Pl. V. 8.]

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has published (*Zeit. für Num.*, i., p. 93, Pl. III. 1) a fifth-century drachm inscribed **ΜΕΘΥ**, which he has assigned to Methydrimum in Thessaly,<sup>11</sup> a place only known from Stephanus Byz., who, after mentioning the Arcadian Methydrimum, adds:—*ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ὡς Φιλόξενος*. The present coin, which is undoubtedly of Thessalian style and fabric, is welcome as giving the name of the Methydrimians in full. It belongs to the period B.C. 400—344, and the graceful treatment of the Nike is worthy of notice.

## ERETRIA (EUBŒA).

10. *Obv.*—Bull's head facing; on nose, **E**.

*Rev.*—Sepia, inscribed **Ξ**; whole in incuse square.

Æ. Size .8. Wt. 4.8 grs. [Pl. V. 9].

The coins of this type, described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Central Greece*, pp. 122, 123, Nos. 33—39, B.C. 480—445, are uninscribed. The letters on this specimen serve to justify the attribution to Eretria.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Head has with hesitation assigned another silver Thessalian coin to Methydrimum; but Phæræ would appear to have a better claim to it (Wroth, "Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1889," p. 7, No. 12. *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 318).



## MYRINA (CRETE).

11. *Obv.*—Female head l., hair rolled.

*Rev.*—**MV** Bull's head, three-quarter face towards r.; whole in circular incuse.

*R.* Size .6. Wt. 89 grs.

An unpublished hemi-drachm, *circ.* B.C. 400. To the Cretan Myrina (a town known only from a mention in Pliny, *N.H.*, xii. 59) M. Svoronos has attributed two silver coins, with the type of a bull's head resembling that on the present specimen (*Num. de la Crète anc.*, p. 247, Pl. XXII. 22). The female head is probably Artemis.

## PHÆSTUS (CRETE).

12. *Obv.*—Winged Talos, naked, standing facing, looking r.; r. hand upraised [to hurl stone]; l. hand outstretched; between his legs, dog, r.

*Rev.*—Fore-part of bull r.; circular incuse.

*R.* Size 1. Wt. 178 grs. [Pl. V. 10 *obv.*]

This didrachm (*circ.* B.C. 400) is similar to the specimens described in Svoronos (*Num. de la Crète anc.*, p. 255, No. 6, Pl. XXIII. 3<sup>12</sup>), and is of fine style, though unfortunately in indifferent preservation.

## PRIANOS ? (CRETE).

13. *Obv.*—Bearded male head r., laur., resembling head of Zeus on tetradrachms of Philip II. of Macedon; border of dots.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Svoronos in *Ephemeris Arch.*, 1889, Pl. XII. 22; Loebbecke in *Zeit. für Num.*, XVII., Pl. I., 10.

*Rev.*—Female figure seated l. on throne; in r. hand, serpent<sup>13</sup> (?); circular incuse.

*R.* Size 1.05. Wt. 180.1 grs. (before cleaning). [Pl. V. 11.]

This unpublished didrachm (*circ.* B.C. 330 ?) was purchased of a London coin-dealer, who had been informed that it was found at Gortyna. Though in somewhat poor condition, it is undoubtedly antique and of Cretan style. The obverse head—supposing it to represent Zeus—would be a suitable type for Gortyna, but the reverse type has no such suitability, and rather recalls the didrachms of Priansus (Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète anc.*, Pl. XXVIII. 21-23), which show a female figure caressing a serpent. If the coin is to be attributed to Priansus on account of its reverse type, the obverse is probably to be considered as intended for Poseidon, who usually appears on the coins of Priansus.

#### SYBRITA.

14. *Obv.*—Head of bearded Dionysos r., wreathed with ivy; in front, bunch of grapes.

*Rev.*—Head of Hermes r., wearing chlamys and petasos; in front, caduceus; circular incuse.

*R.* Size .7. Wt. 84.2 grs. [Pl. V. 12.]

Similar types occur on the fine didrachm of Sybrita, published in "Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1889," p. 11, No. 20, Pl. XIX. 11 (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 321), but the denomination (drachm) is new. .

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<sup>13</sup> This object is not quite clear owing to the condition of the coin. At first sight it bears some resemblance to a bow.

## CÆSAREIA GERMANICA (BITHYNIA).

15. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΚΛ·ΣΕΠΤ·ΣΕΥ ΗΡΟΣΠΕΡ·C· Bust of Septimius Severus r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

*Rev.*—ΚΑΙC Α Ρ ΕΙΑC ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ ΚΗC. Tetra-style temple, within which male figure, wearing himation (Zeus), seated l.; l. hand on long sceptre; r. hand outstretched (holding patera?).

Æ. Size 1·15.

The divinity represented is doubtless Zeus, who appears sitting or standing on several coins of Cæsareia Germanica.<sup>14</sup>

## HERACLEA (BITHYNIA).

16. *Obv.*—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΑ Bust of Julia Domna r.

*Rev.*—ΗΡΑΚΛ Η ΑCΕΝΠΟΝΤΩ Female figure (Demeter or Persephone?) standing l., wearing chiton and peplos; r. hand raised, holding round object (pomegranate?); l. hand lowered, holding two ears of corn.

Æ. Size ·85.

## HADRIANOTHERA (MYSIA).

17. *Obv.*—[Π?]CΕΠΤ ΓΕΤΑCΚ[ΑΙC] Bust of Geta r., bare, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; countermark, male head, r.

*Rev.*—ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ [Θ]ΗΡΙΤΩΝ Zeus wearing himation standing l.; in outstretched r., patera; l. rests on long sceptre; before him, eagle l., looking back, holding wreath in beak.

Æ. Size ·95.

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<sup>14</sup> Muret, *Annuaire de la Soc. Franc. de Num.*, 1882, p. 107 (Hadrian); *ib.*, p. 108 (Sept. Severus; Zeus seated): Wroth, *B. M. Cat., Pontus*, p. 122, No. 8 (Macrinus)

## PERGAMUM (MYSIA).

18. *Obv.*—Head of young Herakles r., in lion's skin.

*Rev.*—Archaic figure of Athena facing, wearing tight-fitting chiton, peplos (and tall head-dress ?) ; in r., spear ; l. holds shield, ornamented with star ; a fillet hangs from shield ; in field, l., crested helmet, r.

*N.* Size .7. Wt. 126.7 grs. [Pl. V. 13.]

Two similar specimens of this rare stater occurred in the Saïda find of 1852, and are now in the Museums of Berlin and Paris. M. J. P. Six (*Num. Chron.* for 1890, p. 198 f.) considers them to have been struck at Pergamum by Herakles, the son of Alexander the Great. This young prince resided with his mother Barsine at Pergamum, but in B.C. 310 was tempted by Polysperchon to set out for Greece as a claimant to his father's kingdom, and it is conjectured by Six that these and some other coins<sup>15</sup> were issued for the payment of his troops. The expedition was, however, ill-fated, and Herakles was put to death in B.C. 309 through the treachery of Polysperchon.<sup>16</sup>

## CYME (ÆOLIS).

19. *Obv.*—**CABEINA CEBACTH** Bust of Sabina, wife of Hadrian, r.

*Rev.*—**KVMAI ΩΗ** Eirene, wearing chiton with diplois and peplos over l. arm, standing l., supporting with r. arm infant Plutos, who is seated looking towards her (and holding cornucopiæ ?) ; her l. hand rests on long sceptre.

Æ. Size .75.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Wroth, *B. M. Cat., Mysia*, p. 110, note †.

<sup>16</sup> M. Babelon (*Rev. Num.*, 1892, p. 353) appears to entirely reject M. Six's view.

The "Eirene and Plutos" group—usually supposed to be a reproduction of the work by Cephisodotus at Athens—occurs also on coins of Athens<sup>17</sup> and Cyzicus,<sup>18</sup> and is familiar to all students of sculpture from the marble statue at Munich,<sup>19</sup> and the fragment from the Piræus.<sup>20</sup> On the present coin<sup>21</sup> Eirene looks to the left, and holds the child on her right arm; but in the case of the other coins and of the sculptures she looks to the right, holding the child on her left arm.

#### SARDES (LYDIA).

20. *Obv.*—Cista mystica with lid half open, from which a serpent issues l.; whole in ivy wreath.

*Rev.*—Two coiled serpents with heads erect; between them a bow-case (ornamented with an aplustre) containing a strung bow; in field l., ΣΑΡ; in field r., horned lion r., with spear in mouth; above bow-case, in field, Κ, caduceus and ΔΗ.

*R.* Size 1·15. Wt. 193 grs. [Pl. V. 14, rev.]

An unpublished cistophorus (B.C. 200—133). The cistophori of Sardes are among the rarest of the class, and only seven varieties have been published by Pinder<sup>22</sup> and Bunbury.<sup>23</sup> The horned lion with the spear occurs as the type of bronze coins of Sardes, and on the present speci-

<sup>17</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Comm. on Paus.*, p. 147, Pl. DD, ix, x.

<sup>18</sup> Ch. Lenormant, *Nouv. Gal. Myth. (Trésor)*, Pl. XIV. 6.

<sup>19</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, art. "Eirene."

<sup>20</sup> Köhler in *Mittheilungen des deut. arch. Inst. in Athen.*, 1881, p. 364.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the specimen in Mionnet, iii., p. 11, No. 65.

<sup>22</sup> *Über die Cistophoren*, p. 563 f.

<sup>23</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1883, p. 188. Bunbury also publishes (*ib.*) a half cistophorus of Sardes.

men is presumably to be regarded as the mint-mark of the city. The symbols that occur on the other cistophori of Sardes vary, and are probably the signets of monetary magistrates.

## ERIZA (PHRYGIA).

21. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ . . . ΜΑΥ ΑΝΤΩ . . . Bust of young Caracalla r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

*Rev.* — ΕΠΙΕ[Ρ Γ?]ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝΑΛΕΞΑ  
ΕΡΙΖΗ ΝΩΝ Male figure, head bare, wearing chlamys and crescent at shoulder, riding l. on horse; r. hand raised; l. hand resting on horse.

Æ. Size 1·15. [Pl. V. 15, rev.]

This is an addition to the small series of Eriza, a town lying near Ishkian Bazar, between Phylakaion and Cibyra.<sup>24</sup> Two other imperial coins of the place<sup>25</sup> have a reverse type which closely resembles that on our specimen, but instead of the crescent the rider bears two arrows at his shoulder. Lambros and Loebbecke have called the figure Helios, but the crescent on this new coin would rather indicate that the god Mên is intended.

## CODRULA (PISIDIA).

22. *Obv.*—ΙΟΥΛΙΑΔ ΟΜΝΑΘΕΒ Bust of Julia Domna, r.

*Rev.*—ΚΟΔΡΟΝ ΛΕΩΝ Dionysos in short chiton and cothurni standing l.; in r. kantharos; l. resting on thyrsos; before him, panther.

Æ. Size 1.

<sup>24</sup> Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, "Eriza"; also in *American Journal of Archaeology*, iii., 365.

<sup>25</sup> P. Lambros in *Zeit. f. Num.*, x. (1883), p. 56 (Caracalla); Loebbecke in *Zeit. f. Num.*, xii. (1885), p. 323 (Sept. Severus); cf. Demitsas in *Ephemeris Arch.*, Athens, 1884, p. 58 ff.

Codrula was hitherto unrepresented in the British Museum, and its money is very rare. Coins of three emperors, Antoninus Pius,<sup>26</sup> M. Aurelius, and Commodus,<sup>27</sup> are in the Waddington Collection, having respectively the types of the Dioscuri and Helena, Tyche, and Dionysos. The present coin carries down the coinage to the time of Sept. Severus.

Professor W. M. Ramsay shows good reasons for conjecturing that Codrula was situated on the north side of Lake Kestel, and three or four miles north-east of the village of Kestel,<sup>28</sup> where dedicatory inscriptions have been found, mentioning a βουλή and δῆμος.<sup>29</sup>

VERBE (PISIDIA).

23. *Obv.*—Κ · Μ · ΙΟΥ · ΣΕ · ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ Bust of Philip, jun., r.

*Rev.*—ΟΥΕΡΒΙ ΑΝΩ[N] Dionysos, naked, standing l.; in r., kantharos; l. on thyrsos; before him, panther.

Æ. Size .75.

Verbe was situated near Andeda, probably at the modern Zivint. A. H. Smith and W. M. Ramsay discovered at *Andia* (the site of Andeda) in 1884 an inscription mentioning τῇ Οὐερβιανῶν πόλει. In Hierocles and the later sources the name appears as Βέρβη.<sup>30</sup>

Coins of Verbe are known of Faustina, Commodus, J.

<sup>26</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Gr.*, p. 345.

<sup>27</sup> Waddington, *Mélanges de Num.*, I., p. 33.

<sup>28</sup> Ramsay, *Micrasiana*, p. 256 (*Revue des études Grecques*, 1893).

<sup>29</sup> Ramsay, *Antiquities of Southern Phrygia*, 1888, p. 51, D. 26.

<sup>30</sup> Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 22 and p. 394; Ramsay, *Antiquities of Southern Phrygia*, Baltimore, 1888, pp. 35, 36; Ramsay in

Domna, Mamæa, and the types relate to Artemis, Athena, Dionysos, and Tyche.<sup>31</sup> A bronze piece (size 1·3 inches), lately in a dealer's hands, has as the reverse type the two Dioscuri standing beside their horses; above, a crescent. The emperor on our coin is new to the series.

SELEUCIA AD CALYCADNUM (CILICIA).

24. *Obv.*—ΑΥ·Κ·Μ·ΟΠ·ΣΕΟ ΥΗΡΜΑΚΡΙ Ν ΟΣ  
Bust of Macrinus r., laur., wearing cuirass.

*Rev.*—ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩ[N] ΤΩΝΠΡ ΟΣ ΤΩ ΚΑΛΩ  
Naked child (Dionysos) seated facing on throne, looking l.; his right hand outstretched; on r. and l. of the throne one of the Korybantes beating shield with sword; behind the throne, the upper part of a third similar figure is visible.<sup>32</sup>

Æ. Size 1·15. [Pl. V. 16, rev.]

A similar reverse type that occurs at Mæonia, in Lydia (under Caracalla), has been figured and described by Overbeck (*Griech. Kunstmythologie*, ii., p. 337, Pl. V. 8) as a representation of the infant Zeus. It is much more probable, however, that the infant Dionysos is intended, for this group very closely resembles the undoubtedly Dionysiac groups found on coins of Magnesia in Ionia (Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, Pl. VIII. 33, p. 644 f.), and on the relief of an ivory pyxis figured in Roscher's *Lexikon*, art. "Kureten," p. 1618 = Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, art. "Curetes," Fig. 2197.

WARWICK WROTH.

*Mittheilungen des deut. arch. Inst. in Athen.*, x. (1885), p. 338 f. A. H. Smith in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1887, p. 22, and p. 254.

<sup>31</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 594; *Num. Chron.*, 1863, p. 104, p. 196; Babelon in *Rev. Num.*, 1893, p. 342.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. a variety of this coin in Mionnet V., p. 280, No. 911, wrongly assigned to the Syrian Seleucia.



## VI.

### HOW FAR COULD THE GREEKS DETERMINE THE FINENESS OF GOLD AND SILVER COINS?

THAT the Greeks from an early period used the touchstone (*βάσανος*) for testing gold has always been an accepted fact. The allusions to this practice in the Tragic poets are so well known, that it is superfluous to quote any here. But it has always been regarded as very uncertain how far the ancients could gauge with any tolerable degree of precision the fineness of gold or silver. I have lately come upon a passage which has hitherto escaped the eyes of numismatists and metrologists, and which is of great interest, not only as regards the question of the assaying of metals, but also as regards the whole question of Greek weights. It is from the treatise of Theophrastus, *De Lapidibus* (§ 46). Theophrastus, in the previous section, has been discussing how the stone which tests gold acts upon the metal, and compares it with the test of fire. He then proceeds:—*εὐρήσθαι δέ φασι νῦν (λίθον) ἀμείνω πολὺ τῆς πρότερον, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὸν ἐκ τῆς καθάρσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κατάχαλκον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον γνωρίζειν καὶ πόσον εἰς τὸν στατήρα μέμικται. Σημεῖα δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου· ἐλάχιστον δὲ γίνεται κριθή, εἴτα κόλλυβος, εἴτα τεταρτημόριον ἢ ἡμιώβολος, ἐξ ὧν γνωρίζουσι τὸ καθήκον. Εὐρίσκονται*

δὲ τοιαῦται πᾶσαι ἐν τῇ ποταμῷ Τμώλῳ. Λεῖα δ' ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν καὶ ψηφοειδής, πλατεῖα, οὐ στρογγύλη· Μέγεθος δὲ ὅσον ἐπιπλασία τῆς μεγίστης ψήφου. He adds some few details about the stone, which have no immediate reference to my purpose.

Although Theophrastus does not anywhere in this passage call this superior touchstone "Lydian stone," yet, from the fact that it is found solely in the river Tmolus, it is absolutely certain that it is the ἡ Λύδη, which he alludes to very briefly (§ 4) as having the power of testing gold and silver (βασανίζειν τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον), and which is the well-known *lapis Lydius* of the Romans.

Let us now state the chief lessons to be learned from this passage.

I. The Greeks of the fourth century B.C. believed that they could determine the amount of alloy in their coin to an exceedingly accurate degree. For they had a scale of standards commencing from a barleycorn to the stater and upwards. I have shown in my *Metallic Currency*, p. 181, that the troy grain of .064 gramme is simply the barleycorn which supplanted the wheat grain which had been the current unit of England.

The half-obol (ἡμιόβολος), the heaviest of the weights mentioned, =  $\frac{1}{12}$  of a drachm and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a stater. The gold in our sovereigns is 22 carats fine; that is, 22 carats of pure gold and 2 carats of alloy. The proportion of alloy is, therefore,  $\frac{1}{12}$ , or twice as much as the heaviest weight mentioned by Theophrastus. The tetartemoron is the quarter-obol =  $\frac{1}{8}$  of stater. The stater weighs 135 grains troy (8.747 grammes), the obol therefore weighs 11.25 grains troy (.728 gramme), and the hemi-obol = 5.625 grains troy (.364 gramme). The tetarte-

morion = 2.8125 grains troy (.182 gramme), the barley-corn = .937 grain troy (.060 gramme).

Let us now fix the relations of κόλλαβος and κριθή to the obol and stater.

According to Theophrastus the κόλλαβος and κριθή are lower denominations than the tetartemorion or quarter-obol. The κριθή, or barleycorn, is the lowest (ἐλάχιστον). The kollabos stands between it and the quarter-obol; so we may safely conclude that the kollabos =  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{3}$  obol. It is double, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times, the κριθή, which is therefore equal to  $\frac{1}{12}$  obol = .937 grain troy (.0606 gramme).

We saw above that the grain troy, or English barley-corn, weighs .064 gramme. It is indeed marvellous that the variation between the old Greek barleycorn and the English should be less than .004 gramme.

We can now, for the first time, construct a complete table of older Greek weights. For whilst I was able to show, from later Greek sources, and from the comparative method, that the Greeks, like all other races, employed the natural seeds of plants for fixing their weight units, I could only point actually to the use of what I supposed to be wheat grains (σιτάρια). These sitaria now prove to be barley-corns, since 12 sitaria = 1 obol (*Metallic Currency*, p. 181). The Attic weight table for the precious metals now stands:—

12 barleycorns = 1 obol.

72 barleycorns = 6 obols = 1 drachm.

144 barleycorns = 12 obols = 2 drachms = 1 stater.

But for money purposes the obol was divided originally into 12 chalci (χάλκοι) or "coppers," as in the Æginetan system (*cf. Metallic Currency*, p. 346), and the Attic sys-

tem, where the silver obol was only two-thirds of the weight of the Æginetan obol, into 8 chalci.

At first sight we are tempted to think that the twelve pieces of bronze into which the obol was divided corresponded to the weight of twelve barleycorns of silver into which the silver obol of Attic standard was divided. This would be completely analogous to the Hindu system, where the rupee weighs 80 rattis of silver, and has corresponding to it, in the money table, 80 pieces of copper (*panam*) = *handful* of cowries, each of which was equal to 80 cowries. But tempting as the comparison is, we cannot make it legitimately in our present state of knowledge. For the Attic obol = 8 chalci, not 12, and to enable us to draw such a conclusion, we ought to have a silver obol of only 8 barleycorns. We must therefore take a δεύτερος πλούς.

Returning to κόλλαβος, we can hardly separate it from κόλλυβος, a word used by Aristophanes (Pax, 1200) to express the smallest coin (ὡς πρὸ τοῦ οὐδείς ἐπρίατ' ἂν δρέπανον οὐδὲ κολλύβου. Pax, 1200). Hesychius, s.v. κολλαβιστής, says, κόλλυβος εἶδος νομίσματος καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ κεχαραγμένος βούς. This would indicate that there was a small copper coin called κόλλυβος, at least at a later period, and that it was identical with one of the chalci into which the obol was divided. The κόλλυβος of Theophrastus is smaller than the quarter-obol, so it must be less than three barleycorns in weight. It is heavier than a barleycorn, so it must be either 2 barleycorns or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  barleycorns. It is most probably the latter, from the reasons given above; as it is in that case  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the obol, and corresponds to one of χάλκοι, into which the obol was subdivided.

II. I argued in my *Metallic Currency*, pp. 307-308, that

the real unit of the Greek weight system was the stater, and not, as had been previously held, the talent. This passage of Theophrastus demonstrates the truth of my contention. For the reader will observe that in calculating the amount of alloy put into metal, it is expressed not as so much to the talent or to the mina, but to the stater.

III. As we have found that the Greeks of the age of Alexander thought they could detect even  $\frac{1}{144}$  part of alloy in the stater, we must henceforth consider that the rate of exchange between gold and electrum must have been fixed on very precise and by no means rough and ready principles.

I had held in my *Metallic Currency* that the fact that there were so many fluctuations in the standards employed for electrum and silver, while, on the other hand, the gold unit remained unchanged from Homer to Alexander, was to be explained by the fluctuations in value of these metals in their relations one towards another.

Now that there can be no doubt about the precision with which differences in the purity of the precious metals were distinguished, the probability is greatly strengthened that the fluctuation in the silver and electrum standards were caused not only by fluctuations in the values of the precious metals, but also by the quality of the metal put into such electrum or silver coins. For if we are to strike a coin of inferior silver equal in value to one of pure silver, the former must contain a greater weight of metal.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This principle probably acted in the case of the potin coins of Lesbos (*Vide* my notice of Wroth's "Coins of the Troad," *Class. Rev.*, July, 1895).

It is also to be carefully observed that the development of the use of the touchstone described by Theophrastus has its origin in the region of Tmolus, the great source of the supply of electrum. No doubt the desire to obtain a means of discriminating between different qualities of that natural alloy would have led very early to great nicety in the use of the touchstone. It is also to be noted that it is among the states of the coast of Asia Minor that fluctuations in the electrum and silver standards are chiefly to be met. We may then argue that with people who were so nice and exact in the assaying of money, the fluctuations in standards were not merely due to "degradation" or to freak, but were the outcome of careful efforts to keep the currency in the best form for the purposes of trade both within the city and in dealings with their neighbours.

As this passage of Theophrastus has proved the truth of the doctrine I put forward in my *Metallic Currency*, so one of Prof. Flinders Petrie's Papyri and the Tel-el-Amarna tablets have confirmed my views on the systems of Egypt and Assyria.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

## VII.

### ON A RARE PENNY OF KING STEPHEN, AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE SO-CALLED HENRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND STERLINGS.



PENNY OF STEPHEN.

SOME little time ago I was lucky enough to obtain the coin, a representation of which is given above.

A brief description only is necessary.

*Obv.*—Within an inner circle, the king's bust to the right, crown fleury, sceptre fleury. Legend, + STIFENERE.

*Rev.*—Within the inner circle a very long cross-crosslet, in each angle a cross-patée, and connecting this with the inner circle a crescent, the ends pointing outwards. Legend, + : W I : L E L . M . O N : O B C L.

A coin answering to this description is figured in Lindsay's *Coinage of Scotland*, Pl. XVIII., No. 21, and belonged to the Rev. J. Martin. From the engraving and the description both in Lindsay's book and the sale catalogue, the two pieces seem to have been struck from the same dies.

Mr. Webster bought the coin at the Martin sale in 1859, but I have been unable to trace its present owner. These two specimens are the only ones I have ever heard of, although I have made minute inquiries.

A new variety of King Stephen's money is always interesting, but this one is worthy of further notice, as it throws light on a class of coins at present attributed to Henry, Earl of Northumberland.

It is with these pieces that I propose dealing in connection with my penny. In 1139 Henry, the eldest son of King David the First of Scotland, was created Earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon by Stephen, who was on terms of the greatest affection with his relative. The earldom in the north was a Palatinate, but when Stephen granted it he expressly reserved for himself the towns of Newcastle and Bamborough, and granted Henry other towns in the south in place of these. The friendship and intimacy of these two kinsmen seems only to have been severed by the death of Earl Henry in 1153 during the lifetime of David his father.

There are several coins attributed to the Earl in Burns' *Coinage of Scotland*. These fall under two distinct classes; firstly, those resembling the common type of Stephen (Hawkins, 270); and secondly, those of the same type as the new Stephen penny here described.

In neither case, to my mind, is the attribution based so firmly as to be unassailable. The first type is given to Henry because the pieces read *Henricus* without *rex*, because they resemble coins of David, and because one, at least, of them was struck at a place reading . . . OLEB . . . ., which is said to be Corbridge, the place where ancient kings and earls of Northumberland had their palace. A coin with Stephen's name is also added to these Henry



sterlings on account of its having been struck at Carlisle, the principal town of the Palatinate.

As an answer to these reasons, it is worth while noticing that Henry I. used his name without his title on some of his coins; pieces, too, which could not possibly be attributed to the Earl, either for type, place of mintage, or anything else. Even the common variety (Hawkins, 255) is occasionally found without the title; on Stephen's coins also the title is constantly omitted. The resemblance of these pieces to David's coins is in no way curious, as they both were contemporary.

The reading . . . . OLEB . . . . as Corbridge leaves much to the imagination. The B is expressly stated to be doubtful, and the L is got over by reference to contemporary documents, where the place is called COLEBRIGIA down to Edward I.'s time. Now, in the Swedish Museum, there is a coin of Æthelred II. struck at EOR, which is attributed to Corbridge. We must therefore suppose that between the time of Æthelred II. and Edward I. the place changed its name twice, going back to its original spelling at last. It seems to me quite as easy, if not easier, to believe that the letters represent perhaps (C)OLE (chester). The moneyer, however, seems to have been a north countryman, as he struck for David in Edinburgh. His name was EREBALD.

As regards the Stephen coin struck at Carlisle, it seems most unreasonable to attribute a definite Stephen sterling to Henry, the Earl, on the ground only of its having been struck at Carlisle. There was a mint at this place in Henry I.'s time, and coins struck there are chronicled as of type 262 in Hawkins. Henry II. and the succeeding monarchs all struck at the same place,

notwithstanding that there were earls of the Palatinate during these times. Later on, again, when Northumberland and Durham became one under the rule of the Bishop Palatine, the King had his mint in the same city of Durham, where the Bishop's mint was at work.

There seems no valid reason, therefore, for not returning to Henry I. those sterlings reading *Henricus*. It is unlikely that Henry II. was the author of them, as has been suggested, because the type of Stephen (Hawkins, 270) is clearly an early one.

The second class of coins, a more numerous one, presents somewhat greater difficulties. The style of the head varies to some extent. They read, on the obverse, *HENCON* or *HENCI CON*, with dots between the letters. The reverse legend gives the moneyer *WILELM*, the little word *ON* and the mint letters *OE* or *CI*, and sometimes an additional *B*; dots, as before, between the words or letters. As the coins are usually ill-struck and in bad preservation, no single coin seems to show the whole legend.

Difficult as the coins themselves are to understand, the explanation in Burns is still more inexplicable, as it makes single letters belonging to one word stand for two different significations. The obverse legend is expanded into *N(orthumbriæ), EN(ri)CI, CON(sul)*. The first letter is taken as a definite *N*, and the reason it is separated from the next letters is that there happen to be two dots ( : ) between the letters *N* and *E*. It is quite possible for the letter to be an *H*. *Consul* is stated in Burns to be used in place of *Comes* in some contemporary documents.

The reverse legend is still further lengthened out into *WILELM monetarius ON LI(vitatis) B(ebbæ)*. The cause

of this is again traceable to the dots between L and M of the moneyer's name, and between I and B when there is one. Bebbæ is the name for Bamborough. Unfortunately Bamborough is one of the two towns reserved by Stephen on granting the earldom.

This explanation is very ingenious, and it comes from an able numismatist and an authority on northern coins, Mr. Longstaffe; but in this case I think the imagination is very much brought to bear on the legend, and it is not in accord with the meaning of legends on contemporary coins.

On some of these pieces there are the two dots between W and I of William, but here they are taken no notice of, and I do not believe that they were intended to have any occult signification in any of the anomalous places where they are found.

The same curious mistake has been made by another author, who translated TÆR · RI:ON LVND, a legend on Henry III.'s coins of the latest short-cross issue, as TÆR for terci, following on the obverse legend Henricus Rex, and then RI as standing for Ricard.

One of the greatest difficulties in the way of settling the question of the authorship of these pieces is the mint name. It will, however, be observed, that with the exception of the E, and this is not of the clearest, all the other letters occur on my coin in the word OBCI. The moneyer William is accountable for all the pieces of this type, and therefore I think we may fairly suppose that OBCI, which contains more letters than any other form, comes probably nearest the mint name. My own idea is that Eboraci (York) is intended, and I see no more difficulty in supposing that OBCI means Eboraci than that ENCI stands for Henrici. Supposing that such be the

case, the attribution of these pieces to Henry, the Earl of Northumberland, can no longer hold good, as York was entirely foreign to his connections. Into this vacancy then I would bring forward Henry Fitzempress as a candidate for the honours of this coinage. The coins themselves seem to me more in accordance with this attribution than with that which I seek to upset. Henry, the centre of the civil war, was a likely person to have struck coins. Robert of Gloucester, Eustace Fitzjohn, and Matilda, all refused Stephen's money, though borrowing in some way Stephen's devices. These personages were, as I have remarked elsewhere, enemies of the King. Henry, Matilda's son, shares their situation in every respect. The explanation of the obverse legend in this new position is, I think, at least as easy as the old one, as the coin would refer to Henry probably as Count of Anjou; and here it is worthwhile to notice that the title Comitissa is given to Matilda on her coin (Hawkins, No. 635). If she could use the title, there is nothing very strange in her son's doing the same thing.

As regards the mint, it is an historical fact that Henry II., before his accession, was considerably engaged in war in the north. York is also mentioned on at least one of Eustace's coins. Lastly, the type of the reverse of these pieces becomes, with but few alterations, and slight ones only, that of Henry II.'s first coinage as king. I refer to those coins described in Hawkins as the Tealby type, and figured as 285 in his illustrations. Any one whose attention is called to the two coinages in comparison cannot fail to see a general likeness between them. The dots before referred to occur on the Tealby coins, and when we get to the short-cross issues they are most marked,

and occur between the letters of one word, an example of which has already been given with the moneyer T&R. RI.

As regards the date of the issue under consideration, I should place it quite to the end of Stephen's reign, somewhere about 1152. It was then that Geoffrey of Anjou died, and his son could take up the title. Moreover, the close connection of the reverse with that of the Tealby type points to only a short space of time.

One other point is of interest. All the coins of this cross-crosslet type have been found in the north of England, according to Burns, vol. i. p. 38, chiefly at Outchester, in the parish of Bamborough, Northumberland. They are therefore, on this ground also, to be referred to the English series.

As far as I can gather the coins of the early type (Hawkins, 270) have been found in both countries, but when found in Scotland (Bute find) they were in company with English coins of Henry I. and Stephen, though undoubtedly Scotch pieces were also with them.

The conclusions, therefore, which I would suggest are:—That both in style and workmanship the coins resemble the English series rather than the Scotch, and that they were struck most probably by Henry Plantagenet, who had good cause for such an issue, rather than by Henry of Northumberland, who had none.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

## VIII.

### THE COINAGE OF EDWARD V.



ANGEL OF RICHARD III.

THAT the coins of Edward V. are of considerable rarity is hardly remarkable, seeing that his reign extended only from the 9th day of April to the 26th day of June (or, according to the Red Book of the Exchequer, 22nd June), 1483. The late Mr. Hawkins, in the first edition of his *Silver Coins of England* (1841) wrote as follows: "Short as was the reign of this young king, coins are said to have been issued in his name and by his authority; none, however, known to have been his have come down to us; and it is more probable that none were ever struck, or if they were, that they were struck from dies of his father's coins."

Acting upon this impression, the author attributes the m.m. boar's head to the reign of Edward IV., but subsequently (p. 278) modified his opinion, and suggested the probability of its being attributable to the reign of Edward V.

In the second and third editions of the same work, revised by the author's grandson, Mr. R. Ll. Kenyon, and published in 1876 and 1887 respectively, five varieties of the groat of Edward V. are described, all of which bear the m.m. boar's head on the obverse, and on the reverse either the same mint-mark or the rose and sun combined; with the exception, however, of one groat described from an example exhibited in 1869 by the late Mr. Sharp at a meeting of this society (*Num. Chron.* N.S., vol. x. 55), which bears the m.m. lis on the reverse.

In his *Gold Coins of England* (1884), Mr. Kenyon describes only one gold coin of Edward V., viz., the angel in the National Collection, which bears on the obverse the m.m. boar's head, and on the reverse the rose and sun combined.

I have recently acquired an angel of this king of the same type, and bearing the same mint-marks, but with R and a rose in the field of the reverse, instead of the & and rose which occur on the last-mentioned piece. Of this unpublished and probably unique coin an illustration is given above, and in connection with the dicta of Mr. Hawkins and of Mr. Kenyon on the coins of this reign generally, I venture to submit my own views, which I had formed prior to my lately reading the remarks published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (N.S., vol. x. 51—55) by Mr. J. F. Neck, so far back as 1870. Those remarks coincide entirely with my own ideas on the subject, but it may be useful to urge some further arguments in opposition to Mr. Kenyon's suggestion that the rose and sun combined was a mint-mark of Edward IV., and not, as contended by Neck and myself, a mint-mark of Edward V. and Richard III. only.

The importance of this point is manifest. If Kenyon

be right, those groats and angels, and their sub-divisions, which bear the name of Edward and the m.m. rose and sun on both sides of the coin, belong to the reign of Edward IV. ; if he be wrong, they belong to the reign of Edward V. It is, of course, possible that they may belong to both, but, as I shall afterwards attempt to show, this seems a somewhat improbable conclusion.

It might scarcely be considered necessary to discuss the question of the m.m. boar's head, as it is now fairly agreed that this, the well-known cognisance of the Protector Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., would not have found a place on coins of Edward IV. It is, indeed, true that the boar was a badge of Edward III. ; in the political poems of the period he is frequently termed "the bore." Kenyon, in the *Silver Coins of England*, refers on that point to *Archæologia*, v., 17, an erroneous reference which has been followed without correction by Mr. Neck. It may, however, be urged, that a boar's head is not quite the same thing as a boar, except by virtue, perhaps, of the form of language known to grammarians as synecdoché. In any event, Richard III. stood in exactly the same relationship to Edward III. as did his elder brother, Edward IV., and there is no reason against, but, on the contrary, every probability in favour of, the younger brother having adopted this badge as his own.

Sir Henry Ellis discovered, in 1813, among the Digby manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, a memorandum, written contemporaneously, which enumerated the various devices which were borne as badges of cognisance by Richard, Duke of York, the father of both Edward IV. and Richard III., and it records that "the Bages that (he) beryth by Kyng Edward is a blewe Bore with his tuskis



and his cleis and his membrys of Golde.”<sup>1</sup> As before suggested, this badge, among so many others enumerated by the author, may well have descended to the second son to the exclusion of the elder.

Kenyon, strangely enough, does not refer to this special discovery on the part of Sir Henry Ellis, but states, generally, that “Sir Henry Ellis, who for many years noted every passage he could meet with, either in manuscript or in print, in which the badges borne by Edward IV. are mentioned, was not able to discover a single instance of his using the boar, nor did Sir Charles Young, Garter King at Arms, know of his having done so.”

The blue boar was probably also one of the badges of Richard II., the grandson of Edward III., as among the jewellery pawned by him with the Corporation of the City of London was a great brooch, with four blue boars (*vide Rymer's Foedera*, edit. 1740, vol. iii., part iii., 140). Richard II. also seems to have adopted as a badge the sun in splendour, just as it appears on the coinage of Edward IV. This may have been in the nature of a further extension of the badge of his father, the Black Prince, who is said to have had, by way of cognisance, a sun rising from the clouds, probably expressive of his position as heir-apparent to the throne.

In dealing with the Wardrobe Account for 1483, the work of Piers Courteys, “custodis magne garderobe D’ni n’ri Regis nunc D’ni Ric’di Regis Anglie terci,” Dean Milles, a former President of the Society of Antiquaries, refers (*Arch.* i., 366) to the fondness which Richard had for the boar, his crest. One of the items in this account, which comprises the garments, &c., required for King Richard’s coronation, contained a charge for “8,000 bores made and wrought upon fustain at 20s. per thousand.”

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xvii. 227.

This wardrobe account is a most interesting document, as it contains a list of the garments and "deliverie of divers stuffe delivered for the use of Lorde Edward, son of late Kyng Edward IV., and his Hengemen" (pages). This prince had been already bastardised, and it is not likely that his uncle would have allowed him (if, indeed, he was then alive) to attend the coronation. The conclusion, therefore, is that the robes described by the wardrobe-keeper were royal robes made earlier in the day for Edward's own coronation; and the further conclusion may fairly be that if Richard, probably before he had determined upon usurping the regal power, had sanctioned arrangements for Edward's coronation, he would, in like manner, have authorised the issue of regal coins bearing his nephew's name—one of the most cherished and profitable privileges attached to the Crown.

Reference may also be made to a contemporaneous political poem (MSS. Trin. Coll., Dublin, D. 4, 18) on the Battle of Towton. In this, which is reprinted in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix., p. 343, Edward IV. is throughout described as the Rose, and those who flocked to his banner were designated also by their heraldic badges. The following lines occur in this poem:—

"The Boris Hede fro Wyndesover w<sup>t</sup> tusses sharp and kene  
þe Estriche Feder was in þe felde þ<sup>t</sup> many men myzt sene."

The boar's head, coming from Windsor, can only refer to Richard, who had, in the year 1461, when the battle mentioned was fought, been recalled to England by his brother, the King. He was then, it is true, only in his ninth year, but must, as Edward was not then married, have been considered as the next heir to the throne, and to have been entitled, probably, as the eldest son of a

reigning monarch would have been, to the badge of the ostrich feathers. The passage quoted is most useful, as evidencing at what an early stage the young prince had assumed the badge of the boar's head, which he retained to the last.

It seems, however, that Richard III.'s boar was a white boar, and not a blue boar. In the illuminated roll of the Earls of Warwick, according to Sainthill (*Olla Podrida*, vol. ii., p. 214), quoting from Turner's *History of England*, there is a representation of Richard (in consequence of his intermarriage with the family), who is depicted standing on a white boar. After his accession he seems also to have created a herald-at-arms, Blanc Sanglier, whom he sent on his foreign embassies to announce his accession. This is evident from letters which passed between him and Lewis XI. of France (M. S. Harl., 433, f. 236 and 237b; Letters, &c., of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VI., Master of the Rolls Series, 1861), in which Blanc Sanglier is treated as being entrusted also with other commissions besides that of announcing the accession.

Acknowledging, then, that all coins with m.m. boar's head must have belonged to the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. only, how is it that, with a solitary exception in the case of Mr. Sharp's coin (which was said to have been found at Towcester, but which I have not seen<sup>2</sup>), the only mint-mark which appears in conjunction with it is that of the rose and sun combined? The con-

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<sup>2</sup> It is possible some mistake was made, as in Mr. Sharp's sale (Sotheby's, 3rd April, 1838), were two groats only of Edward V. (Lots 88 and 89), one with *obv.*, boar's head, *rev.*, rose and sun; the other with mint-mark, rose and sun on both sides.

tention of Mr. Kenyon is that this last-mentioned mint-mark distinguished the last coinage of Edward IV.; but this is only a surmise on his part, and just one of those surmises which are open to the greatest suspicion, inasmuch as it has been invented for the express purpose of defeating the attribution of the rose and sun coins to the subsequent reign. I quite admit that there was a possibility, though not a probability, of the rose and sun being a mint-mark of Edward IV.; but, on the other hand, it is an absolute certainty that it was in use in the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III., seeing that it is found in conjunction with coins bearing the m.m. boar's head during both these reigns.

In mediæval times it frequently occurred that an obverse or reverse die of the last coinage of one monarch was, at first, used either inadvertently or under pressure of circumstances, on the earliest coinage of his successor; but this does not at all account for the very serious fact that on the coinage of both Edward V. and Richard III., the moneyers were constantly ringing the changes, so to speak, with the two mint-marks mentioned, and with those two only. It is in favour of the exclusion of the m.m. rose and sun from the list of mint-marks of Edward IV., that it occurs more commonly on the coins of Richard III. than even the more characteristic m.m. boar's head.

It has been considered certain, by those numismatists who have studied the subject of the series of angels and groats of Edward IV., that the cinquefoil mint-mark was the last one used in connection with their coinage. The similarity of the pieces bearing that mint-mark and those bearing the m.m. sun and rose, particularly in the case of the angels, proves that the latter immediately succeeded the former. It is almost as improbable that Richard III.,

throughout both his protectorate and his reign, should have adopted a well-known, because latest known, badge of his brother, as that his brother should have previously adopted Richard's well-known badge of the boar's head. Surely, the fact that both gold and silver coins of Richard occur throughout his reign with the m.m. rose and sun on both obverse and reverse (and more commonly, as before stated, than the m.m. boar's head), should tend to show that the adoption of that mint-mark was due to neither inadvertence nor pressure of circumstances, but clearly to premeditated design.

It may have been considered that, inasmuch as Edward IV. had adopted the sun and the rose separately, his son might fairly use those two mint-marks combined, or, to use heraldic language, dimidiated; and, of course, the same argument may apply to its adoption by Edward IV.'s brother Richard.

The question of a new design for a coinage, particularly by an usurper, was in those days a very delicate one. As a rule the general type and style of the previous coinage was continued, as being more likely to inspire confidence; but is there any instance in the whole series of our English coinage, subsequent to the adoption of other than mere conventional mint-marks, in which a successor (particularly after the lapse of an intermediate reign) adopted throughout, either alone or in combination with one other only, the last mint-mark used by his predecessor?

Assuming the rose and sun to have been Edward V.'s mint-mark, there is nothing very strange in its continued use by Richard III., who, as Protector of the Realm, had probably designed it. If it were Richard's own badge and mint-mark, as was the boar's head, there is every

reason why he should have insisted on the adoption of both on the coinage of his ward.

A numismatic friend has suggested to me that on my angel, illustrated above, Richard caused the initial of his own name to appear, to evidence his authority. I am not so sure as to this, and I should not care to advance that theory without some corroboration. My impression is that a plug, bearing the letter R, has been inserted in the die, in substitution of the original & which has been cut out. It is, however, in that event, very strange that the obverse should be that of Edward V. and not of Richard III. Was this an accident on the part of the moneyer? If so, the coin must be attributed to the latter reign; if not, it must remain as a coin of Edward V., subject to some such theory as that propounded by my numismatic friend.

That theory is somewhat supported by the fact that some formal documents, at all events, were issued with the sign manual of both the King and the Protector. I may instance an original patent in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, appointing Edmund Holt to be the keeper of the gaol at Nottingham. This is signed at the top with the King's initials, "R. E.," and at the foot "R. Gloucestre."

It is pertinent to consider what our standard authors, other than Hawkins and Kenyon, have written on the subject of the coins of Edward V. Leake, in his *Historical Account of English Money*, states that a master of the mint was appointed for form's sake, but that it was not likely that any money was coined. Snelling, in his *View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England*, and, in like manner, in his *View of the Silver Coin and Coinage*, omits altogether to refer to the reign of this king, from which

we can only assume that he must have been under the impression that no coins had been issued in that reign. Ruding gives no instance of the striking of any money by the young king, but quotes Ross, of Warwick, who lived in this reign, and who wrote in his *Historia Regum Angliæ*, p. 213, as follows:—"Novus rex Londoniæ ductus, a majore et concivibus honorifice, ut decuit, est receptus. Sub ejus nomine jura regni apud Westmonasterium et per totum regnum sunt modo solito observata, moneta nunc facta sub ejus nomine est percussa et formata, et omnia regiae dignitati pertinentia in suo nomine solito modo erant observata."

Ruding adds that none of those coins had been ascertained, and that it was probable that they were struck with his father's dies, "which appears to have been the common practice on the accession of a new monarch."

John Ross (or Rous), of Warwick, was a most credulous and untrustworthy writer in connection with his accounts of early history, but it is presumed that he may be accepted as fairly accurate when he deals with contemporaneous matters. It is confirmatory of the accuracy of his statement, that among the grants, &c., from the Crown during the reign of the young monarch is one dated 20th May, 1483, contained in the original docket-book (M. S. Harl., 433) by which William Lord Hastings was appointed master and worker of the moneys, and keeper of the Exchange within the Tower of London, the Kingdom of England, and the town of Calais.

It is clear that all the above numismatic authors must have been aware of the occurrence of coins both in gold and silver with the name of Edward, and bearing the m.m. rose and sun combined, on both sides, and inferentially therefore that they must have attributed these to the reign of Edward IV.

It was incorrect on the part of Kenyon to state that the rose and sun was a well-known badge of Edward IV. It is perfectly true, as I have before stated, that both the rose and the sun were his well-known badges, but in a state of combination or dimidiation they occur only as a mint-mark on the series of coins to which I have referred, with the solitary exception of the coin of Henry VII. afterwards mentioned. Mr. Neck (*Num. Chron.* N. S., vol. x., p. 53) states that it was one of Richard's badges. I do not know the authority for this either, and it is plain that a mint-mark on a coin does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a personal badge of the same design.

This form of combination was used during the reign of Edward V. (unless, indeed, it had been, as alleged, adopted by Edward IV.) and was continued to the reign of Henry VII., who not only had the same mint-mark, as appears from an angelet in the collection of Sir John Evans, but also that of the lis upon rose and other similar combinations.

The "crowned rose in sun" occurs, it is true, on the orfreys or embroidered front of the habit of the prelate of the Garter engraved on page 234 of Ashmole's History of that order, but this is one of a set of figures engraved so late as the reign of Henry VIII., and the rose in sun, or, as it was then called, *rose en soleil*, was a different device from the rose and sun, the former being composed of a rose in the centre of a sun in splendour, the latter being a combination of a dimidiated rose and a dimidiated sun. The *rose en soleil* occurs on the fifth seal of Edward IV., used for France only, and described by Wyon in his *Great Seals of England*, 1887 (Pl. XVI., No. 89), one being on each side in the field under the king's throne.

It may be, in any event, unwise to place too much



reliance on the mere question of the use of the rose and of the sun as badges, as these occur not combined, of course, on all the varieties of the great seal of Edward IV., and in like manner on the great seal of Richard III., not only in a prominent position on the obverse, but also diapered alternately on the reverse, as may be seen by reference to the illustrations of these seals given both by Speed and by Wyon.

Edward V. may or may not have coined before the protectorate of his uncle, but it was necessary that he should have a great seal immediately on his accession; and it is clear that he had one, as upon his uncle's appointment as Protector this seal was, according to Speed,<sup>3</sup> taken out of the hands of the Archbishop of York and delivered into those of the Bishop of Lincoln. If he had a great seal, why not a coinage also? Speed, however, erroneously depicts as the seal of Edward V. the great seal of Edward IV. Of the former no impression is known. The great seal and counterseal of Richard III. are identical with the fourth seal of Edward IV., as given by Wyon, the name only being altered from EDWARDVS to RICARDVS.

It appears to me, as before intimated, that seeing that the rose and the sun were both favourite badges of Edward IV., occurring, as they do, in all shapes and forms on the various coinages of his reign, both sometimes on the same coin, such as the quarter noble and the early pattern of the angel, it was only natural and somewhat ingenious on the part of his advisers that an entirely new device in the nature of a combination of these two should

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<sup>3</sup> Speed's account of the reign of Edward V. is strongly tinged with acrimony against Richard. This is due to the fact that it was for the most part written by Sir Thomas More.

have been invented and adopted by the young king, and equally improbable that such combination should, in the circumstances, have been previously adopted by his father.

What the well-known collectors of English coins in the past times thought on the subject may not constitute the strongest argument in favour of my contention, but their opinion is entitled to respect, and it is a fact that my attribution of the m.m. rose and sun to Edward V. has been previously acceded to by Sainthill, Cuff, Bergue, Murchison, Brice, and many others. I am in possession of Mr. Cuff's notes, in his own handwriting, on Ruding's plates, and the following are his observations that relate to the subject: "In Mr. Welling's catalogue was a groat, m.m. boar's head, reading EDWARD, &c. This must be *either* a coin of Edward V. *or* an unknown m.m. of *Edward IV.*, in either case a very rare piece. In Mr. Sainthill's collection is a groat with the rose and sun m.m. joined like those of Richard III. This is *probably* also of Edward V." The italics are my own, but the words so printed were all struck through with his pen by Mr. Cuff, subsequently to his making his original note, thus showing that later in the day he was convinced that both mint-marks were attributable to Edward V., to the exclusion of his predecessor. Mr. Cuff's views are also well evidenced by his correspondence on the subject with Mr. Sainthill (*Olla Podrida*, vol. ii.), and the latter is fairly entitled to the merit of having been the first strongly to insist on the attribution contended for.

The coins, bearing the name of Edward, with the m.m. rose and sun, are excessively rare. This is quite consistent with their having been coined in the very short reign of Edward V., but scarcely so with their being the last

coinage of Edward IV., of whose really last coinage with the m.m. cinquefoil so many examples have survived to our times.

As further evidence of the rarity of the pieces with the m.m. rose and sun bearing the name of Edward, I may instance the hoard of gold coins found at Park Street, near St. Albans, the details of which have been so ably described (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. vi., p. 171) by Sir John Evans. In that hoard there were no less than fourteen different varieties of the angel of Edward IV., with m.m. cinquefoil, and four varieties of the angel of Richard III., but not a single piece with the name of Edward bearing the m.m. rose and sun. If such mint-mark had been the latest of Edward IV. it would be fair to assume that some examples, at all events, would have been present in that hoard. It is much more probable that having been issued during the reign of Edward V. only, they were struck during a very short period, and in very small quantities, and were perhaps either suppressed or called in soon afterwards by his successor, and, further, that the few that were extant may have been hoarded as memorials of the young prince.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, in his paper on *The English Silver Coins issued between 1461 and 1483* (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. xi.), deals very exhaustively with the mint-marks of Edward IV., but does not include among them that of the rose and sun. I quite agree with him (nor has there ever been much doubt) as to the attribution of most of the earlier and later mint-marks of that reign, but with regard to the intermediate marks, many of the trifling details and differences mentioned by him are by no means constant, and are, therefore, inconclusive. He is certainly mistaken in thinking that the m.m. crown is a rare mint-mark, and

that it is only found combined with the sun. It is a very frequent mark, particularly on the gold coinage, and is not uncommonly found on both sides of a piece, not combined with the sun or any other mark.<sup>4</sup> He has also reversed the relative positions of the crown and sun. The latter, he states, precedes the former. This is clearly not so, and as clear that it succeeds it, as on more than one gold piece in my collection the sun occurs over the crown, an infallible proof that it must have followed it.

There are certainly some points which have always assisted students in classifying the light groats of Edward IV. These are (1) the similarity between the admittedly earliest pieces to those of the preceding heavy coinage; (2), the similarity of certain groats to those of light weight issued by Henry VI. during his short restoration; (3), the evidence, *prima facie*, but not always with absolute certainty, supplied by reason of the alternation of certain mint-marks on the obverse and reverse of the coin; (4), the absolute evidence afforded by the surfrappage of one mint-mark over the other; and (5) the resemblance between the latest pieces, or what we contend to be the latest pieces, bearing the m.m. cinquefoil and the groats of Richard III.; but with regard to most of the intermediate pieces, I agree with Mr. Neck, that "any attempt to classify them would prove useless and unreliable without some aid from documentary evidence."

Returning to the subject of the coins of Edward V., there is one small point of detail which is worthy of

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<sup>4</sup> Mr. Lawrence has since explained that his meaning was that the m.m. crown, when found in combination, only occurred combined with the m.m. sun.

some consideration. On one of my groats of that king, bearing the m.m. rose and sun on both sides, there is a round pellet, distinctly and advisedly engraved in the spandril under the king's bust, and on one of my groats of Richard III., bearing the same mint-mark on both sides, a similar pellet occurs in exactly the same position. The two pieces are not from the same die, and I have no doubt but this pellet had some significance, the exact nature of which we are not at present able to determine. The pellet occurs in the same position on other varieties of the groat of Edward V. That Edward V. and Richard should have adopted this distinguishing pellet in common is quite in accord with the fact that they also adopted the m.m. rose and sun in common; and it is not more remarkable that that mint-mark did not occur on the groats of Edward IV. than that, as the fact is, the pellet also did not so occur, except, of course, under very different circumstances and in a very different position in connection with the m.m. cross.<sup>5</sup>

That it did occur, however, throughout the three reigns in one position or another, is rather suggestive that it may have been the privy mark of some engraver or moneyer.

There is a further observation to be made with reference to the angel depicted above, the study of which has led to my writing these few notes. In a footnote to Mr. Neck's paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, before referred to, he mentions that in a sale catalogue of the

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<sup>5</sup> This use of the pellet may fairly suggest a suspicion that the cross and not the cinquefoil was the last mint-mark of Edward IV.

27th May, 1850, it was remarked, in connection with a groat, m.m. rose and sun, of Richard III., that the RIC was "deeper and larger, evidently from an altered die, probably one of Edward." On the obverse of my angel the letters EDW are also deeper and larger, and have apparently been engraved on the die over some previous lettering. Assuming, as I am inclined to do, that on the reverse of my piece, the R to the left of the rose has been engraved where an E originally occurred on the die, I can only account for the alteration on the obverse die by suggesting that either the engraver had originally inserted the Protector's name and had subsequently rectified his error, or (on the assumption that the coin is really one of Richard III.), that he had cut out of the die for an angel of Edward V. the first letters of Edward's name in order to insert those of Richard, and had then blunderingly inserted again the same letters that he had excided. The form of the R's on the obverse is very peculiar, but I have seen almost the same form on an angel of Edward IV., m.m. cinquefoil; and it would appear as if the final tail of the front portion of the letter had been imperfectly engraved; this is the more probable as there are slight traces of the usual continuation of that portion of the letter on the first and second R's in the king's name and titles.

In drawing my arguments to a conclusion I venture to submit that it is clear that all pieces with the m.m. boar's head, bearing the name of Edward, should be assigned to Edward V.

With regard to those with the m.m. rose and sun, I have proved nothing; because no proof is possible in the absence of exact evidence; but I hope that I have succeeded in showing that there is the greatest probability,

very little short of certainty, that they also must be attributed to the same reign.

This being so, the coinage during this very short reign consisted, so far as can be at present ascertained, of the following pieces only :—

- (1) Angel, m.m. *obv.* boar's head, *rev.* rose and sun.
- (2) Angel, m.m. rose and sun on both sides.
- (3) Half-angel, m.m. rose and sun on both sides.
- (4) Groat, m.m. *obv.* boar's head, *rev.* rose and sun.
- (5) Groat, m.m. *obv.* boar's head, *rev.* rose and sun with pellet under the bust.
- (6) Groat, m.m. boar's head on both sides.
- (7) Groat, m.m. boar's head on both sides, with pellet under the bust.
- (8) Groat, m.m. rose and sun on both sides.
- (9) Groat, m.m. rose and sun on both sides, with pellet under the bust.

To these must be added Mr. Sharp's groat, before referred to, if it be as described (which I doubt), and the angel above depicted, if it should be ascribed to this reign and not to the reign of Richard III.

H. MONTAGU.

## IX.

### BRITISH COPPER TOKENS OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND MALAYAN ARCHIPELAGO.

(See Plate VI.)

THESE tokens may, at first sight, be thought to be unimportant, but such is not the case, and on investigation they will be found to be certainly more interesting, although, of course, not nearly so numerous, as the tradesmen's tokens of Australasia.

Nothing original is attempted in this notice. The details of these pieces, of which, it is believed, there are no official records, have to be collected, bit by bit, from different authors, and it is to be regretted that even now we do not possess anything like full documentary evidence about them.

There may be some records, if we only knew where to look for them, but the fact that the tokens originated from private sources, does not favour the idea that we shall ever be much wiser about them than we are at present. A few more may turn up, but beyond this there is little that we can hope for.

It appears that at the close of the last, and early in this century, there was a constant dearth of small change in the regions of the Straits and in the islands of the Malayan seas. There was nothing extraordinary in this, but the want had to be met by action of some kind, and



this action was made the more necessary by the great impetus to trade with Sumatra which took place in 1803, as is mentioned in Marsden's *History of Sumatra*, in consequence of the very large importation of nutmeg and cloves from the Moluccas.

The East India Company issued, amongst others, copper coinages for Sumatra in 1798 and 1804, which probably were insufficient or unpopular. At all events, the difficulty was solved, or an attempt was made to solve it, by the British merchants and traders, who issued copper tokens of their own, mostly of the value of two and one keping; and these keping pieces, as the legends on them show, were intended for the encouragement and convenience of trade with, and payments to, the natives, not only in the Straits Settlements and Sumatra, but also in more distant regions, such as Celebes and Borneo.

Various types seem to have been adopted, and amongst the first appears a keping for Sumatra dated 1804, which was evidently closely copied from the keping of the East India Company of the same date. It differs, however, sufficiently to avoid being an infringement of copyright, in that on the obverse the legend is "Island of Sumatra" instead of "East India Company," and the arms, &c., are varied; while on the reverse the numeral for the figure "one" (keping) is formed somewhat differently.

It is curious and unexplained that most of these pieces are dated 1804 and 1835, but it is more than probable, at the same time, that they were not very punctually issued. On the other hand, these facts rather point to the idea that the different pieces coined for each of these years had a common origin, and that origin without doubt is to be traced to British traders.

The East India Company's keping for Sumatra was

meant as a fraction of the rupee, but it would appear probable that the keping now under consideration were rated as parts of the all but universally adopted Spanish dollar, which was a more acceptable standard in trade than the rupee.

There is some evidence to show what the rating was, as Marsden, in his *History of Sumatra*, dated 1811, says:—"Keping, or copper cash, which go four hundred to the dollar;" and this statement he repeats, in his *Malay Dictionary*, by writing, "Keping, a copper coin, four hundred of which are equal to a Spanish dollar."

Now Marsden, as he himself relates, was directed by the Company to adjust the proportions for their copper coinage of 1786 for Sumatra, and to furnish the inscriptions. We may therefore fairly conclude that he would be competent to put the proper rating to the keping of the early part of the present century.

According to the *History of Currency in the British Colonies*, by Chalmers, as the dollar was equal to about 100 pice, we arrive at the conclusion that 4 keping were worth 1 pice. Howorth, in *Colonial Coins and Tokens*, says the keping was equal to quarter of a cent. The cent and the pice may therefore be taken as equal in value.

The Company established a settlement at Bengkaulu (since corruptly called Bencoolen) in 1685, and Sumatra was partly colonised by it long before any of its other Malayan possessions, and received a copper coinage before the others.

The peninsula of Malacca was peopled from Sumatra in the twelfth century, and the founders of Jahore, Singapore, and Malacca were adventurers from Sumatra. It is not therefore perhaps surprising that the bulk of the

tokens, hereafter mentioned, are inscribed for use in Sumatra, the island being then and later a place of greater importance and more trade than the other settlements.

The legends on the kepins are mostly in the Malay language, which was of all the most useful and best known to the natives of the Far East. The name "Malayu" was applied to every Mussulman, speaking Malayan as his proper language, and either belonging to or claiming descent from the ancient kingdom of Menangkabau, wherever the place of his residence, and the same term was also used to indicate the name of their language. This Marsden tells us, and he also adds, in mentioning the Malays, "Their writing is in the Arabic character, with modifications to adapt that alphabet to their language, and in consequence of the adoption of their religion from the same quarter, a great number of Arabic words are incorporated with Malayan."

This is absolutely the case, and the legends on nearly all the pieces under consideration are Malay, while the characters may most properly be called Malay Arabic. I fear it cannot, however, be claimed that the characters, as shown on the coins, are entirely free from error. There are other dialects in the different Malayan countries and islands, written in various characters, all apparently having a common origin in Arabic; we can therefore conceive that the merchants were correct in their choice of the language inscribed on the bulk of their tokens.

There is little or no doubt but that most of these pieces were minted in England. Of this there is ample proof.

Those of two and one kepins—obverse, a cock facing to the right, "Tanah Malayu"; reverse, "Two (or one)

Kepings," and date 175 = 1831—2—are rightly included amongst these tokens, although by many they have been supposed to be an official coinage for Malacca. This cannot be, (1) because Malacca, Singapore, and Penang were united in one government in 1826, and it is therefore most unlikely that a special official coinage would have been issued for Malacca alone in 1831—2; (2) because "Tanah Malayu" does not mean "Malacca," but "The Land of the Malays," a very comprehensive term; (3) because the pieces are of inferior minting to those issued by the East India Company; and (4) because we have no known record of an official coinage ever having been struck for Malacca alone. In fact we have direct evidence to the contrary, for Millies, in his book called *Les monnaies des Indigènes de l'Archipel Indien et de la Péninsule Malaie*, page 140, and, writing in 1871, says "that the State of Malacca has left no numismatic remains, and we do not know that this Malay State ever possessed a coinage of its own."

As regards evidence to the contrary, however, Atkins gives this series separately under the head of Malacca, while Chalmers states, page 383, that they were coined for Malacca by the East India Company in 1835, thus throwing discredit on his statement, for the pieces bear date 1831—2.

As to the tokens with the legend "Island of Sultana," which I have also included, there is no evidence to show that these have any more connection with the island of Labuan, as has been stated, than that they were coined for Labuhan, a place on the west coast of Sumatra. One of these, with "Island of Sultana" on it, has the date 1719 = 1804—5, the other dates being, with one exception, 1834—5. Labuan was not acquired by England till

1846; therefore these can have no real place in a coinage for Labuan and must be considered, like the "Island of Sumatra" pieces of 1804, to be tokens. In fact there is little doubt, although there is scanty documentary evidence at present obtainable, but that "Island of Sultana" is only another mode of expression for "Island of Sumatra." The "Island of Sultana" token, inscribed "Land of Bougi," was meant for trading purposes between Sumatra and Celebes, the Bougis being the principal and dominant race inhabiting the last-named island. I have had a very comprehensive search made for the island of Sultana, have had the old maps and charts at the Royal Geographical Society examined in vain, and have asked if there is any mention of such an island in the records of the India Office, but all without success. It is not to be found, but a very eminent authority informs me, and he is confirmed by Neumann and others, that no such island as Sultana exists, that Sultana means Sumatra, and that the pieces are some of the many tokens struck by British merchants for trade in the Archipelago.

In 1848 the circulation of unofficial copper coins and tokens was prohibited by the East India Company.

I have not included Hare's doits for Banjarmassim, because there is some evidence to show that these were struck by authority of the then Governor of Java.

As to the fact that the British traders of the Far East dealt largely in copper tokens, it may be well to give a few authorities. In his book before mentioned, page 106, Millies speaks of "copper money made at Birmingham for British merchants for Atcheen." On page 140 he writes, "Small copper pieces were struck in England of the value of one keping, with the names Perak and Selangore, and the date 1835." On page

158 he mentions pieces of one keping struck by English traders for the Indian Archipelago.

From Netcher and Van der Chijs' work, called *Munten van Nederlandsch Indië*, page 94, I take the following quotations:—"The index also mentions the coins that were struck, not alone by the English East India Company, but also those by English speculators for Sumatra. Although this species of coin cannot be considered otherwise than as an unauthorised coinage, not having been struck at the instigation of any sovereign power, we still wish to mention it here, as it has been circulated in great quantities in Sumatra." On page 126 will be found a description of several of the pieces, and delineations of them on Plate XII.

This work also states, page 93, that Sir Stamford Raffles was a counterfeiter (this word probably not meant literally), and that his great point in establishing the port of Singapore was to extend English copper coins throughout the Indian Archipelago. It goes on to say that he had no time to carry out his plans, but that there were private speculators who were not so particular. The speculators' coins were unofficial, undertaken twice, and not repeated after 1845, the second issue being the lighter. The "Island of Sumatra" coin was too light. The pieces were coined for all countries. The single keepings do not seem to have been so acceptable as the double. As to Celebes, it mentions that the speculators coined for it, as for other places; and so on.

Again, Millies, in his *Munten der Engelschen voor den Oost-Indischen Archipel*, mentions these pieces, and several appear in his plates. He says the "Island of Sumatra" coins were less in weight than the corresponding official ones, meaning thereby, I take it, the "East India Com-

pany" one keping of 1804 for Sumatra. He explains the Malay term *Negri*, which he says has a very wide meaning, and may be translated as "kingdom," "state," "capital," "city," &c. On page 102 occurs, "These small copper coins were intended for the Straits Settlements and the Malay Peninsula, but they were circulated over a much larger extent of ground, and accepted not only in Java, but in Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes, so that Raffles' object was obtained."

In another place he mentions that the "cock" varies on different samples, but that it is essentially the fighting cock of the Malays. He is not able to explain the date 1560 which appears on one of the tokens.

It would make these notes too long to give more quotations from the works named, but it may be added that they contain much further information about these interesting tokens. Details will also be found in *Beschreibung der bekanntesten Kupfermünzen*, by Josef Neumann, in *Coins of British Possessions*, by Atkins, in *Colonial Coins and Tokens*, by Howorth, and also in what is commonly known as the *Catalogue of the Fonrobert Collection*, vol. iii., by Adolph Weyl.

Many of the pieces are to be found as plain-edged proofs, both in copper and bronze, and it may also be observed that the "speculators" were not entirely averse to "mules."

It is worth notice that nearly every author who mentions these tokens spells the word supposed to express their value differently. For instance, "kapang,"<sup>1</sup> "ke-

<sup>1</sup> The faulty spelling of these words is likely to lead to much confusion as regards value. It should be remembered that "a keping" is  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a dollar; that "a kupong" (the word kapang being probably a corruption) is equal to  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a dollar and that "a gold Japanese copang" is worth about 10 rix dollars.

peng," "keping," and "kepping." Although I see that Marsden in some of his works is not very particular how he spelt the word, in his *Malay Dictionary* كڤڠ is translated "keping," and I have adopted this spelling as most likely to be correct. The word "keping" has apparently a dual meaning, and may best be translated into English as "a flat piece" (of money).

In spelling the names of places Marsden has also been taken as a guide as far as possible.

Weight varies in some cases two or three grains in different specimens of the same pieces, so what I have given can only be taken as approximate. The edges are plain except where otherwise mentioned.

#### FIRST SERIES.

Tokens bearing an imitation of the arms, &c., of the East India Company.

##### No. 1. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Legend, "Island of Sumatra." Arms and supporters resembling those of the East India Company. The motto on the scroll under the arms is not *Ausp. Regis, &c.*, but on good specimens reads as follows, viz., AT · OT · TA · OVIITO : TA · (I cannot translate this; it may be that the motto is "scamped"). Under the scroll is the date, 1804.

*Rev.*—In Malay Arabic, ρ (one), كڤڠ (keping), سانت (satu = one), and date in Arabic characters, ١٢١٩ = 1219 = 1804-5.

Weight, 31 to 35 grs. [Pl. VI. 1.]

Several varieties occur both in die and size.









## No. 5. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Legend, "Island of Sultana." Shield surmounted by a small castle and two small flags; supporters two horses. Under is a scroll with no motto, beneath which the date 1835.

*Rev.*— $\text{م}$  (one),  $\text{كُرْد}$  (the Island),  $\text{ملايو}$  (of the Malays),  $\text{٥}$  (one). Atkins translates this as "Malay Island"; Neumann as "One Malay keping." The characters are so curiously and badly formed that this transliteration is open to question. The numerals, no doubt, refer to the value. The date, which is an extraordinary error, is  $1٢11 = 1411$ .

Weight, 32 grs.

## No. 6. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 5, except that instead of the castle and two flags, there is only one long flag with two points flying to the right, the pole of which inclines slightly to the left (1835).

*Rev.*—Same as No. 5 (1٢11).

Weight, 32 grs.

## No. 7. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 5, except that there is no legend, and instead of the castle and two flags there is an oblong flag, like a Union Jack, flying to the left and its pole inclining in the same direction (1835).

*Rev.*—Same as No. 5 (1٢11).

Weight, 34 grs.

## SECOND SERIES.

Tokens bearing the Bantam Cock.

## No. 8. Five Keping (?).

*Obv.*—A cock to the right, with open beak. The head and end feathers of the tail almost touch the edge; likewise the feet, which stand on a solid ground.

*Rev.*—In Malay Arabic characters,  $\text{سوسو}$  = "Susu" (a

town in Sumatra). Under is the date 1804.  
Edge diagonally grained.

Size  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch. Weight, 180 grs. [Pl. VI. 3.]

Probably a pattern for a five or four keping piece and extremely rare.

No. 9. Two Keping.

*Obv.*—A cock to the right. Over it in Malay Arabic characters ملايو (Malayu) تانه (tanah) = "The Land of the Malays."

*Rev.*—۲ (two) كعك (keping) دوا (dua = two). Under is the Arabic date, ۱۲۴۷ = 1247 = 1831-2.

Weight, about 66 grs. [Pl. VI. 4.]

No. 10. One Keping.<sup>2</sup>

*Obv.*—Same as No. 9, except size, which is smaller.

*Rev.*—۱ (one), كعك (keping), سات (satu = one). Date ۱۲۴۷ = 1247 = 1831-2.

Weight, 82 to 88 grs.

There are several varieties in die of this piece.

No. 11. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 10.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 10, but date ۱۲۵۱ = 1251 = 1835-6.

No. 12. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 10.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 4 (1250 = 1834-5).

Weight, 29 grs.

No. 13. One Keping.

*Obv.*—A cock to the left, standing on a pediment which is incusely inscribed C. R. Read. Legend round

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<sup>2</sup> Since writing the above I have obtained a specimen like No. 10, but with date ۱۲۱۹ = 1219 = 1804-5.

the cock, in Malay Arabic, much as on obv. and rev. of previously mentioned pieces combined, meaning "The Land of the Malays. One keping." (Tatah, however, being written in error for Tanah.) Under the pediment, the curious and unexplained date 1560.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 4 (1250 = 1834-5).

Weight, 33 grs. [Pl. VI. 5.]

C. R. Read was a Singapore merchant.

No. 14. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 10.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 5 (1411 = 1411).

Weight, 31 grs.

### THIRD SERIES.

Tokens bearing the names of States of the Malay Peninsula.

No. 15. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Legend, in Malay Arabic, نڬري (negri = The State, فیرق (of Perak).

*Rev.*—Same as No. 10, except date, which is 1251 = 1835-6.

Weight, 33 grs. [Pl. VI. 6.]

No. 16. One Keping.

*Obv.*—نڬري (negri), سلاغور (Selangore).

*Rev.*—Same as No. 15 (1251).

Weight, 34 grs.

No. 17. One Keping.

*Obv.*—نڬري (negri), ترنگانو (Tringanu).

*Rev.*—Same as No. 15 (1251).

Weight, 32 grs. [Pl. VI. 7.]

## FOURTH SERIES.

Tokens bearing the word Percha (Sumatra) or the names of Sumatran States.

## No. 18. Two Keping.

*Obv.*—Legend, in Malay Arabic, ڤولو (Pulu = The Island),  
ڤرج (Percha = of Sumatra), with a sun or star  
 over and under.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 9 (1847 = 1247 = 1831-2).

Weight, 65 grs. [Pl. VI. 8.]

## No. 19. Two Keping.

Same as No. 18, except date, which is 1251 =  
 1835-6.

Weight, 65 grs.

## No. 20. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 18, but smaller.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 10 (1847).

Weight, 35 grs.

## No. 21. One Keping.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 20.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 11 (1251).

Weight, 33 grs.

## No. 22.—Two Keping.

*Obv.*—نڬري (negri = The State), اچي (Atchi = of  
 Atcheen).

*Rev.*—Same as No. 18 (1847).

Weight, 65 grs. [Pl. VI. 9.]

## No. 23. Two Keping.

Same as No. 22, except date, which is 1251.

## No. 24. Two Keping.

*Obv.*—نڬري (negri = The State, or, in this case more probably, The Fortress), ترومون (Tarumon = of Tarumon).

*Rev.*—Same as No. 18 (1847).

Weight, 65 grs.

## No. 25. Two Keping.

Same as No. 24, except date, which is 1851.

Weight, 65 grs.

## No. 26. Two Keping.

*Obv.*—منڬكابو (Menangkabau), with a sun or star over and under.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 18 (1847).

Weight, 65 grs. [Pl. VI. 10.]

## No. 27. Two Keping.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 26.

*Rev.*—Same as No. 19 (1851).

Weight, 66 grs.

## No. 28. One Keping.

Same as No. 26, except in size and value (1847).

Weight, 84 grs.

## No. 29. One Keping.

Same as No. 27, except in size and value (1851).

Weight, 84 grs.

## No. 30. One Keping.

*Obv.*—نڬري (negri), دلي (Dilli).

*Rev.*—Same as No. 20 (1847).

Weight, 84 grs. [Pl. VI. 11.]



## No. 31. One Keping.

Same as No. 30, except date, which is 1751.

Weight, 84 grs.

## No. 32. One Keping.

*Obv.*—نڠري (negri), سيك (Siak).*Rev.*—Same as No. 20 (1751).

Weight, 38 grs.

## No. 33. One Keping.

Same as No. 32, except date, which is 1751.

Weight, 32 grs.

## No. 34. One Keping.

*Obv.*—تانڠ (Tanah = The Land), ملايو (Malayu = of the Malays).*Rev.*—Same as No. 11 (1751).

Weight, 38 grs. [Pl. VI. 12.]

Included in the series, because Sumatra was of all others "the land of the Malays."

## No. 35. One Keping.

Same as No. 33, but the word "Sicca" instead of "Siak" (1751).

This is given on the authority of Neumann. I have never seen it.

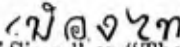
## FIFTH SERIES.

## Miscellaneous Tokens.

## No. 36. Two Keping (?).

*Obv.*—An elephant facing to the left, standing on a solid ground, under which is the date in Siamese,

๑๑๕๗ = 1179 (Siamese) = 1835.

*Rev.*—The legend in Siamese characters,  = Muang Thai = "The Land of Siam," or "The Land of the Free." A sun or star over and under the legend.

Weight, 66 grs.

No. 37. Two Keping (?)

Same as No. 36, but (what is apparently intended for) a lotus flower instead of the elephant and ground. Same date.

Weight, 66 grs. [Pl. VI. 13.]

The two pieces last described are both in my cabinet in proof condition. They are hitherto unpublished, and I believe of great rarity. The last is not in the British Museum, and I have never seen a specimen of it but my own. In weight and date they correspond with the other two keping tokens already mentioned, and I have little doubt but that they were intended for use between Lower Siam and the Malayan States. I should hardly like to class them as patterns, as I have seen a much worn specimen of No. 36, and it is almost out of the question that they can be Siamese, as, according to Crawford's *Embassy to Siam*, there were no copper coins in use in that country when he wrote in 1830. I consider, therefore, I have rightly introduced them here.

No. 38. One Keping.

*Obv.*—A badger facing to the left (the crest of the Brooke family). Under it the initials J. B., and date Sept. 24, 1841.


*Rev.*—Almost the same as No. 20 (117v).


Weight, 27 grs.

This token was probably an attempt to continue the

"speculators'" kepings, when Rajah J. Brooke founded Sarawak in 1841. The two dates on it do not agree, but the natives, in all probability, were none the wiser. The weight is inferior to that of the other pieces now treated of. The present rajah informs me that he knows nothing of this token, and of course this may really be the case, as it bears date much before his time. It is mentioned by Millies, and is seldom met with. See *Les Monnaies des Indigènes*.

No. 39. One Doit.

*Obv.*—The legend, in Bougi characters, in two lines,  
 = Tanah Oegi = "The Land of the Oegi (or Bougis)." Under is the date 1250 = 1834-5.

*Rev.*—The value, in Bougi, in two lines,   
 = Séoewa doewi = "one doit."

Weight, 33 grs. [Pl. VI. 14.]

No. 40. One Keping.

*Obv.*—A balance and scales, with عدل = 'Adl = Justice, between the scales, under which is the date in Arabic figures, ١٢١٩ = 1219 = 1804-5.

*Rev.*—Almost the same as No. 1 (١٢١٩).

Weight, 56 grs.

No. 41. One Keping.

Almost the same as No. 40, but with the letter N over the left arm of the balance, and the letter M over the right arm (١٢١٩), the letters probably standing for the initials of the trader who had the token struck.

Weight, 50 grs. [Pl. VI. 15.]

Nos. 40 and 41 are of the highest rarity and hitherto unpublished to the best of my belief. Although men-

tioned last, from their dates, style, and weights, they are probably some of the first attempts of the "speculators" when they found it expedient to strike small change for native use. As they considerably exceed the usual weight, it is likely that few were struck, and I have not seen or heard of any other specimens except those in my own collection, although very likely they may exist. Mine are not proofs, and are not as well struck as any of the other tokens I have described.

H. LESLIE ELLIS.

X.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON A PORTRAIT MEDAL  
OF PARACELSVS DATED 1541.



Fig. 1.

IN the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893 (3rd Series, vol. xiii., pp. 60—71) I gave an account of a portrait-medal of Paracelsus in my possession, dated 1541 (see Fig. 1). At that time I had not seen the two copperplate engravings

of Paracelsus dated respectively 1540 and 1538 (see Figs. 2 & 3). These two engravings, together with the medal, and perhaps some of the other medals, probably furnish us with the most authentic portraits of Paracelsus extant.



Fig. 2.

The portrait on the medal, dated 1541, whether made before or after the death of Paracelsus in that year, does not appear to be a mere copy of the portrait on the engraving dated 1540, for in the medal the lines on the forehead of Paracelsus are more sharply marked than in

the engraving, and there is some slight difference in his dress. Altogether, the two engravings and the medal give us a series of portraits of Paracelsus during the last years of his life. It would indeed be interesting to know who the artists of these likenesses were.

The two engravings, an original of the latter of which is in the Print Room of the British Museum, are both apparently from the same hand, and are both signed with the monogram A\.. It has been maintained by Joseph Heller (*Praktisches Handbuch für Kupferstichsammler*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1850, p. 311) that the monogram stands for Augustin Hirschvogel of Nürnberg. If this were so the medal might actually be by the same hand, for Augustin Hirschvogel, as well as being an engraver, was a good draughtsman, and probably also was familiar with modelling. The following is a short account of his life.

Augustin Hirschvogel, or Hirsvoꝑel<sup>1</sup> (? 1503—? 1560), came of a family long settled at Nürnberg, and formerly wealthy. His father (died 1525) was the glass painter, Veit Hirschvogel, but he is said to have excelled his father in glass painting, and became the most famous of his brothers. He was a good draughtsman, an engraver, an enameller in colours, a glass painter, and a potter. He travelled much, and in Venice studied antique art, and is said to have made copies of antique vases. His designs for goldsmith's work exist, and he is said also to have trained himself in gem engraving. He studied

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<sup>1</sup> See J. G. Doppelmayr, *Historische Nachricht von den Nürnberghischen Mathematicis und Künstlern*, Nürnberg, 1730, fol. p. 199; Joseph Bergmann, *Medaillen auf berühmte und ausgezeichnete Männer des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates*, Vienna, 1884, vol. i., pp. 280—295; Friedrich Jaenicke, *Grundriss der Keramik*, Stuttgart, 1879, p. 446; G. K. Nagler's *Künstler-Lexicon*, vol. vi., p. 194.

mathematics, and wrote a book on Perspective, &c. A medal with his portrait is figured by Doppelmayr (Pl. XIV.) and by Joseph Bergmann. The old German glazed pottery known as "Hirschvogel ware" derives its name from this family of Nürnberg.

Unfortunately, great doubt remains as to the real



Fig. 3.

authorship of the two engravings attributed to Augustin Hirschvogel. The monogram  $\mathcal{A}$  is certainly not Hirschvogel's usual signature, and even if the monogram were his, it appears that he did not engrave the copperplates himself (see G. K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, vol. i., p. 322). One fact, however, appears certain, namely, that the author of these two engravings of Paracelsus was



likewise the author of an engraving of Dr. Johannes Fabricius, of Salzburg, in 1540 (Nagler, *op. cit.*, p. 323). This makes it probable that, whoever he was, the artist was either living at Salzburg or was temporarily at Salzburg in 1540 and saw Paracelsus himself. The likeness on the two engravings may then be accepted as authentic, and one must therefore admit also the similar likenesses on the oil painting of the town library at Nürnberg (Prof. Carl Aberle, *Grabdenkmal, Schädel und Abbildungen des Theophrastus Paracelsus*, Salzburg, 1891, p. 382, No. 45), on the oil painting in the Museum at Salzburg (Aberle, *op. cit.*, p. 388, No. 50), on the medal in my possession, and on other medals with a similar portrait of Paracelsus.

How much less claim to authenticity most of the other types of portraits of Paracelsus possess, may be gathered by an examination of the work of Prof. C. Aberle (*op. cit.*), who has most carefully collected together descriptions of the extant portraits, and classified them into types. For the correctness of the likeness (Aberle, *op. cit.*, Pl. II., fig. 3) on the engravings by Wentzel Hollar (1607—1677) little can be said, even supposing that the engraving was made after some now unknown oil painting by Rembrandt. Rubens's painting and the engravings by Sompel, Gaywood, &c., after Rubens, give an equally untrustworthy likeness of Paracelsus (Aberle, *op. cit.*, Pl. II., fig. 4), although a painting of the sixteenth century with a similar portrait is said to exist (in whose possession is at present unknown). The supposed portrait of Paracelsus by Tintoret (Aberle, *op. cit.*, Pl. III.) is also open to doubt; it was engraved by F. Chauveau as the frontispiece to the Latin edition of the collective works of Paracelsus, published at Geneva, in 1658. The original painting is not now known to exist. If this portrait

really represents Paracelsus, it must have been at a considerably earlier period of his life than that at which the portrait dated 1538 represents him. Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto, was born at Venice, in 1512, and Prof. Aberle suggests that, as a boy he may have made a sketch of Paracelsus, when the latter was surgeon in the Venetian army, and that in later years, when Paracelsus became a more famous man, he may have painted a portrait from the sketch. Chauveau's plate is signed, "F. Chauveau, Sculpsit, I. Tintoret ad vivum pinxit." It is possible that Chauveau copied his likeness from some portrait now lost sight of, really made "*ad vivum*" by Tintoret, though the identification in Chauveau's time of the portrait as one of Paracelsus may have been a mistake.

There exists a portrait of Paracelsus representing him as a middle-aged man, namely the oil painting belonging to the Historical Society of St. Gallen, which is said to be authentic, and bears the date 1529 (Aberle, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV., fig. 11). With this doubtful exception, the only authentic likenesses of Paracelsus are the above-mentioned engravings, oil paintings, and medals representing him in the years 1538, 1540, and 1541, and later copies of these portraits.

In conclusion I may mention that I have not yet heard of the existence of another medal exactly like the one in my possession. This is not very surprising. In the sixteenth century, in Germany, probably many of the goldsmiths and engravers occasionally modelled medals, when this was not their usual employment. I feel inclined to consider the medal in question as a trial-piece by an artist not usually employed in making medals, and this would account for only one example, and that in lead, being at present known. From Prof. C. Aberle's book

(*op. cit.*) I have derived great assistance, and have to thank Mr. Lionel Cust, formerly of the British Museum Print Room, but now Director of the National Portrait Gallery, for information concerning the engravings of Paracelsus.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS.

Figure 1, reprinted from the *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 60, is the medal of Paracelsus in my possession.

*Obv.*—THEOPHRASTVS · PARACELSVS · A° · 1541 ·  
Half-length figure, facing, of Paracelsus, with his head slightly inclined to the spectator's right hand. The face is without hair and the lines are very harshly expressed; the top of the head is bald. He is dressed in a loose gown fastened by a girdle around the waist. From his neck an amulet(?) is suspended by a thin cord, and with his hands he grasps the handle of a large two-handed sword.

No reverse. Diameter, 3·1 inches; cast; lead.

Figure 2 is a reduced copy of the engraving of 1540, taken with permission from the example in the British Museum. The portrait of Paracelsus is similar to that on the medal, but his head is inclined in the contrary direction, and the lines on the face are less harshly expressed.

Figure 3 is a reduced copy of the engraving of 1538. The portrait of Paracelsus is similar to that on the later print of 1540, but the bust only is represented, and his head is in profile to right. No amulet is suspended from the neck. Figure 3 is taken from Pl. Va in Prof. C. Aberle's book (*op. cit.*), since the British Museum only possesses a wood-cut, somewhat varied from the original engraving.

F. PARKES WEBER.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*. Bd. VI., von K. Sittl. Anhang: *Antike Numismatik*.

This appendix of forty-four pages to Sittl's volume on "Klassische Kunstarchäologie" is meant not so much for the numismatist as for the archæologist who is not a numismatist. It is presumably because the volume deals with the archæology of art that Roman numismatics are dismissed in two pages (except for a few incidental references). The rest of the appendix consists of (1) a list of collections, public and private, with the literature relating to them. Considering the difficulty of producing such a list, so far as the private collections are concerned, it is not surprising to miss the names of some of the collectors best known in England, or to find included those of some who collect only Oriental coins. (2) A brief sketch of the numismatics of the various countries, Eckhel's arrangement being adhered to with a protest. A bibliography, which should be useful, is appended to each section. In a future edition such omissions as those of A. J. Evans' work on Syracusan medallions, Greenwell's on staters of Cyzicus, Babelon's *Les Perses Achéménides*, &c., should be made good. (3) General remarks of a very sketchy character on such matters as types, denominations, &c. It is to be hoped that the volume of plates that is to follow will thoroughly represent the numismatic side of archæology, and that the bulk of the appendix will be increased in future editions. Nothing is more important for the study of the development of Greek sculpture in relief, and of art forms in general, than a knowledge of the types of Greek coins.

G. F. HILL.

*Manuale di Numismatica.* By S. Ambrosoli, 2nd Edition, 1895.

This manual of Numismatics, which includes all classes of coins, ancient, mediæval, and modern, has met with exceptional success, and the first edition of 2,000 copies having been speedily exhausted, a second one, revised and somewhat enlarged, has been issued.



In so small a work, comprising not more than 250 pages, no minute description of coins, or lengthy treatises as to various classes, could be attempted; but Signor Ambrosoli gives such a general outline of each series as will be of great use to young collectors. To others of more experience, the work furnishes convenient lists of the Roman Emperors, the Doges of Venice, the various reigning families of Italy, and others, with their dates. For this reason alone the work will always be handy. In issuing his second edition, Signor Ambrosoli has somewhat augmented these lists. He has also added many illustrations of coins, and in the case of the Roman Family or Republican, has given an index or guide to their legends. The heraldic plates at the end of the work will be of special use to collectors of mediæval and modern coins.

H. G.

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### MISCELLANEA.

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THE MEANING OF THE MONOGRAM ON DENARII STRUCK BY CAESIUS AND MANIUS FONTEIUS.—On the obverse of the fine *denarius* struck by Lucius Caesius, about the year 104 B.C., appears the monogram , which is placed in the field to the right of the bust of Apollo Vejovis; and as the same monogram is found on a *denarius* struck by Manius Fonteius C. f. about 88 B.C., and this also happens to accompany the head of the same deity, it has been assumed by Mommsen that the type and monogram are connected,  being simply AP, the first letters of the name Apollo.

Eckhel, however, considered the monogram to stand for *Argento Publico*, and between these two opinions the authorities seem divided, Babelon holding to the former, and Cohen to the latter.

Now there would be little doubt that Mommsen was right, taken for granted that the monogram is really AP, but the object of this note is an endeavour to prove that this conclusion has been too hastily arrived at, and that the monogram should be interpreted quite differently.

**R** stands, in my opinion, simply for the word "ROMA." Let us examine the monogram.

The whole is contained by the initial letter of the word — a large and plain R. Next comes the O, formed by the loop of the R, as in an acknowledged monogram of the same word, described below. The M is in the lower part of the R, the upper part of the M being formed by the bar of the A—thus : **A**. In fact, every letter of the word "ROMA," except, perhaps, the O, can be seen at a glance.

Now, suppose the monogram is merely AP, why should the bar of the A be forked into the shape of the top of an M ? This form of the letter, although late Greek, is, I believe, never found on Latin coins ; and on the reverse of one of the very pieces on which the monogram occurs, is the word "CÆSI," in which the A has a straight bar.

Again, the monogram AP is a common one, and is always written **A**<sup>P</sup>. To simply combine these two letters, it is unlikely that the Roman engraver would have adopted such a clumsy monogram as the one in question.

But perhaps the most convincing proof of all is found on a *denarius* struck by Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, about 89 B.C. —practically the same date as the emission of the *denarius* of Fonteius. On the reverse of this coin we read L. PISO FRVGI ROMA, the word "ROMA" being sometimes in full and sometimes in monogram (see note at foot of p. 292, Babelon's *Monnaies de la République Romaine*). This monogram, on a coin in my cabinet, takes the form **R**<sub>A</sub>, differing only from **R** in that the M and A are outside the lower part of the R instead of within it.

It was somewhat unusual to inscribe the word "ROMA" on the obverse of a *denarius* not bearing the head of Roma, but at the period in question this practice seems to have been in vogue, for about the year 89 B.C. Aulus Postumius Albinus issued two *denarii* with head of Apollo, one having the word "ROMA" beneath it, and the other its initial R.

This, I think, completes my case.

LEOPOLD A. D. MONTAGUE.

THE PERFORMANCE OF AN AGREEMENT TO PAY MONEY IN 1464.—In the *Plumpton Correspondence* (*Camden Society*) there is a transaction noted in a letter to Sir William Plumpton, in 1464, from his confidential friend and agent in London, Brian Rocliff, which is an instance of the subtlety and ingenuity in the interpretation of obligations occasioned by such sudden alterations in the value of the current coin as the raising of the gold noble from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d. at Michaelmas, 1464.

Rocliff writes (p. 12), under date 3rd December, 1464:—"Sir, like you to remember the conclusions of the matter taken betwixt you & Chapman of Stamford by Husee and mee that yee for to have his releas general should pay 100s., whereof I paid 4 marks in hand which you paid mee again; & now this term by the advise of Huzza, thorowh importune clamour of Chapman, and you to bee in quiet delivering your acquittance, I paid 38s. 4d. afore Husze to Chapman, so that now you bee utterly out of his dammage."<sup>1</sup>

The adviser was William Hussey, a rising barrister, who afterwards became successively King's Attorney and Serjeant to Edward IV., and who was Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench from 1482 to 1495.

Now, the points for inquiry is how did the two payments of 4 marks (i.e. 53s. 4d.) and 38s. 4d., satisfy the agreement to pay 100s.? The Proclamation, issued between the dates of making them, raising the value of the noble, does not at first sight affect it, as it expressly left the moneys of account, marks and shillings, as they were before. It is pretty clear, however (always supposing the manuscript to be correctly printed), that Rocliff spoke of "marks" in the conventional sense, which they had got to bear for so long, as being equal to two nobles, and that he had paid, in the first instance, eight gold nobles. These eight nobles, though at the time of payment they had been only worth, as Rocliff said, four marks, or 53s. 4d., were yet, according to Master Hussey, to be reckoned in estimating the balance due as equivalent to 66s. 8d.

In strict law (and it was a great time for strictness of legal interpretation) it would seem that he was right. The consider-

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<sup>1</sup> The writer was a grave man, and a sensible, for in continuation he prays for more money, as he could not pay other matters, "except by running in papers of London, wch he did never yet so that he lived poorly thereafter" . . . and "the wis man saith to us, *Impedit omne forum carentia denariorum.*"

ation was an indivisible one: to pay 100s. The obligation on the other party to perform his part arose only on the payment of the whole sum, and not before. Thus, the first payment was looked on, not as a part performance of the agreement, but as a payment by way of deposit and evidence of the agreement having been entered into. Consequently, the eight nobles were ear-marked as "deposit" in Chapman's hands, and retained that character till the occasion of the second payment, which was the true moment of performance of the consideration. Then they became part of it with the 38s. 4d., and being then reckoned at the value, which they then had, of 66s. 8d., the two sums made up together the whole 100s.

It would have been different in the case of a debt or condition subsequent.

It does not appear whether Chapman also had the benefit of legal assistance, but if he had had it, it is probable that Sir W. Plumptre would not have succeeded without remonstrance in discharging, as he practically managed to do, an undertaking to pay seven and a half marks by payment of six and a half only.

A. E. PACKE.

UNPUBLISHED GOLD COINS OF ELIZABETH.—As I have now, in all probability, almost exhausted the list of gold coins of James I. not included in Kenyon's work, I propose now applying myself to the rectification of his list of the gold coins of Elizabeth. So far as I have gone, I have notes of several new pieces, which do not include any of the numerous varieties with legends differing from those described by the author, but, as before, only those the numerals on which have not been recorded by him. It follows, therefore, that none of these are in the British Museum. These pieces are as follows:—

*Sovereign* (1592 to 1601), m.m. key struck over a wool-pack.

In the Brera Collection, Milan.

*Ryal* (1584 to 1601), m.m. scallop. In my collection.

Kenyon affixes a note of interrogation as to this m.m. on No. 4, described by him from the British Museum example.

*Ryal*, m.m. crescent. Notwithstanding the author's remark, there is no doubt as to this m.m., which appears on Whitbourn's example, now in my cabinet, and on one in the cabinet of Mr. A. Durlacher.

*Half Sovereign* (1558 to 1572), m.m. lion. In my collection.



*Half Sovereign* (1558 to 1572), m.m. castle. In my collection.

*Half Sovereign* (1600), m.m. O. In my collection.

*Half Sovereign* (1602), m.m. 2. In my collection.

*Angel* (1582 to 1601), m.m. anchor. In Mr. W. M. Naish's collection.

*Angelet* (1558 to 1578), m.m. ermine. In my collection. This is the earliest angelet known of this reign.

*Angelet* (1582 to 1601), m.m. key. In the sale of the Rev. M. S. Martin's coins (Lot 204). The angelet m.m. tun must surely occur some day.

*Crown* (1558 to 1572), m.m. portcullis. In Mr. Durlacher's cabinet, exhibited to the Society on the 15th November, 1888.

*Half-Crown* (1558 to 1572), m.m. portcullis. In W. Harrower Johnstone's sale, 1876 (Lot 151).

*Half-Crown* (1592 to 1601), m.m. key. In my collection.

*Half-Crown* (1592 to 1601) m.m. woolpack, struck over m.m. key. In my collection. The m.m. is on the reverse (there being none on the obverse), and the overstriking is very peculiar, inasmuch as the date of the m.m. woolpack is 1596, and that of the m.m. key, 1595.

*Quarter-Angel* (1558 to 1578), m.m. ermine. In my collection.

*Quarter-Angel* (1578 to 1582), m.m. sword. In my collection.

With the kind assistance of the readers of the *Chronicle*, I trust to be able, from time to time, to add to the above list.

H. MONTAGU.

GEORGE FORDYCE AND JOHN HUNTER, LONDON MEDICUM LYCEUM, PRIZE MEDAL.—In the Royal College of Surgeons, London, is a small volume, entitled "*Regulations and Laws of the Lyceum Medicum Londinense*, held at Mr. John Hunter's Lecture-room, Castle Street, Leicester Square, 1792," and contains rules for the award of a gold medal, value £5, for an essay.

Subjects for an essay are given for the years 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792. The first of these is "On the Properties of Pus." A medal seems to have been awarded for this essay, as the same library contains a printed copy, having on its title-page, "*A Dissertation on the Properties of Pus:*

which gained the Prize-Medal, given by the Lyceum Medicum Londinense, for the year MDCCLXXXVIII, and was ordered to be printed for the use of the Society by Everard Home, F.R.S., and one of the presidents of the Lyceum Medicum. 'Felix, qui potuit Rerum cognoscere Causas.'" (Published) MDCCCLXXXVIII. Below is an engraving of the medal, both obverse and reverse. It differs from the medal described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, 1891, pp. 92, 93, in the following particulars:—1. There is no rim, size being  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch. 2. On the reverse the snake is longer, and, instead of having below the straight inscription LYCEUM MEDICUM, there is a curved inscription, LYC MED LOND o. 3. There are no artist's initials.

A. H. LYELL.

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NEW TYPE OF THE COPPER COINAGE OF KUMĀRA GUPTA.—



The coin here figured was obtained by Mr. C. J. Rogers, in 1898, from some bazaar in the Punjab—probably at Saharanpur—and is now in the Collection of Mr. W. Theobald. It is thus described by Mr. Vincent Smith, who has called this new variety the *Garuda Type*.

*Obv.*—श्री कु (Śrī Ku-) in large Gupta characters ;  
above, Garuda ; circle of dots.

*Rev.*—Laksmī seated ; uncertain symbol in l. field ;  
circle of dots.

Æ 7. Wt. 52 grains.

E. J. RAPSON.

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WARDROBE COUNTER OF EDWARD III.—The following is a description and particulars of a wardrobe counter of Edward III. that has been some time in my possession. The devices upon it are thus described in the *Medallie Illustrations* of Hawkins, Franks, and Grueber :—

*Obv.*—A six-foil enclosing a shield of arms on a bend, three keys palewise. In the spaces alternately a lion passant and a crown. *Leg.* EDWARDVS REX RÆGNAT. Between each word are two crowns.

*Rev.*—Within a panel of four arches and four angles a cross flory with a *fleur de lis* in each angle. *Leg.* GARDÆ ROBE RÆGIS. Between each word are two crowns.

Of the wardrobe counters three varieties are known, all with the same inscription on the reverse. On one there is, instead of the coat of arms on the obverse, a half-length figure of the king with the same legend of Edwardus Rex regnat. In the other is a lion of England with a banner attached to its neck, and the legend LÆOPARD. SVÆ—"I am a leopard." The arms on the counter now exhibited seem to offer a variety of those of the Spencer family, which now give on the bend two pairs of keys endorsed, and not three keys palewise. I am not, however, at present aware of the connection of any one of that name with the wardrobe in the time of Edward III., for it was under that king that these counters were struck. The department of the wardrobe was in old times one of the most important in the kingdom, and the accounts for a single year, the twenty-eighth of Edward I., fill a quarto volume published in 1787 by the Society of Antiquaries. The receipts for the year amount to nearly £50,000, an immense sum in the year 1800. No wonder that for an office of such importance, with an infinity of accounts to adjust, special counters were provided. Possibly, if attention be called to them, more may be found to exist than at present is known to be the case.

J. E.

# XI.

## MONNAIES GRECQUES, INÉDITES ET INCERTAINES. (Suite.<sup>1</sup>)

(Voir Pl. VII.)

### XXVIII.—SINOPE. DATAMAS, ENTRE 370 ET 362.

1. Tête de la nymphe *Sinope*, à gauche, avec pendants d'oreilles, les cheveux dans une sphendoné; grénétis au pourtour.

*Rev.*—*Aigle* pêcheur, les ailes éployées, perché sur un dauphin, à gauche; au-dessous ΔΑΤΑ.

℞ 4. 6,29. Coll. Loebbecke. [Pl. VII, No. 13.]

2. Au-dessous ΔΑΤΑΜ(Α), au-dessus de la queue de l'aigle, abeille.

℞ 4. 5,74. Coll. Imhoof.

3. Au-dessous 4447 (ויררן); au-dessus de la queue ΑΡ.

℞ 4½. 5,96. Coll. Loebbecke. [Pl. VII, No. 12.]

4. Au-dessous même légende, mais deux lettres inverties, 4447.

℞ 4½/4. 5,87. Ma coll.; *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 26, n. 37, Pl. II, 8.

5. Au-dessous 444λ (תירין).

℞ 5/4. 5,56. Coll. Loebbecke. [Pl. VII, No. 14.]

6. Au-dessous 44444 (ערנתפת).

℞ 4. 5,65. Coll. Loebbecke.

℞ 4½. 5,50. Mus. de Berlin, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 27, n. 38, Pl. II, 9.

<sup>1</sup> Voir *Num. Chron.* 3rd S., Vol. XIV, p. 297.

7. Même tête de *Sinope*, mais de mauvais style ; devant elle *aplustre*. Grènetis.

Rev.—*Aigle* pêcheur sur un *dauphin*, à droite ; au-dessous  
 זכור (זכור).

Æ 5/4. 4,18. Coll. Loebbecke. [Pl. VII, No. 15.]

M. A. Loebbecke a bien voulu me communiquer les empreintes d'une série de drachmes de *Sinope* de sa splendide collection et m'autoriser à les publier. Je lui en suis d'autant plus reconnaissant que son obligeance me permet d'enrichir de deux noms nouveaux la liste des monnaies à légendes araméennes de *Sinope*.

Toutes les drachmes, le n. 7 excepté, sont contemporaines et d'un même style, nonobstant de légères différences dans l'arrangement des cheveux de la nymphe ; ainsi la tête de *Sinope* sur le n. 3, marqué des initiales **AP** d'un *Prytane*, est toute pareille à celle de la drachme du British Museum, qui porte, outre le nom **ΔΑΤΑΜΑ**, les initiales des deux magistrats, **ΑΓΟ** et **ΗΡ**.<sup>2</sup>

Il n'est donc pas douteux, à mon avis, que les personnages, dont les noms se lisent sur les drachmes, n. 3—6, ont frappé monnaie à *Sinope* à la même époque que *Datame* et ne doivent pas être considérés comme ses successeurs dans la Satrapie de Cappadoce, mais comme des officiers subalternes auxquels il avait confié le gouvernement de cette place fort importante. C'est du-moins ce que me semble impliquer le passage de *Corn. Nepos*,<sup>3</sup> où il est dit de *Datame* : *Urbes munitas suis tuendas tradit*.

Les initiales du *Prytane*, ajoutées sur le n. 3, prouvent,

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. Pontus*, Pl. XXI, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Nepos, Datam.* 5. *Judeich, Kleinas. Stud.*, p. 194.

en tout cas, qu'il s'agit d'une monnaie officielle de Sinope, et non d'une copie faite ailleurs.

Le nom וררן est écrit correctement sur l'exemplaire de M. Loebbecke ; sur le mien deux lettres sont inverties par l'incurie du graveur grec, ce qui m'en a fait autrefois méconnaître la valeur.<sup>4</sup> C'est le nom perse bien connu Vararanès, Οὐαραράνης.

La seconde légende, ררירן, est moins facile à transcrire ; on peut comparer les noms perses commençant par *Tiri*, comme Τηρίβαζος, ררירבזו, et Τηριδάτας, ou mieux encore le nom propre hébraïque תִּירִיָּה, 1 Chron. 4, 16, que les LXX rendent par Θηριά, et le nom d'un roi de Characène, Τίραιος, probablement sémitique, comme ceux de ses successeurs. Les hyparques de Datame n'étaient pas nécessairement des Perses, et peuvent avoir appartenu à plus d'une nationalité distincte.

La légende du n. 6, ערנרפת, que j'ai mal transcrite autrefois, donne le nom perse connu Orontobatès, et comme la tête de Sinope sur l'exemplaire de M. Loebbecke, où elle est la plus distincte, est de bon style et ne fait pas l'effet d'être une imitation, je ne vois aucune raison, *maintenant*,<sup>5</sup> de douter que cet Orontobatès ait battu monnaie à Sinope même et je le range par conséquent parmi les hyparques de Datame, sans vouloir affirmer que ce soit le même perse, qui, trente ans plus tard, devint le dernier dynaste de Carie par son mariage avec la fille de Pixodare.

La drachme n. 7, par contre, est une imitation barbare et d'après l'addition de l'aplustre, d'époque postérieure

<sup>4</sup> M. Babelon, *Pers. Achém.*, p. lxxxiv, n'a pas été plus heureux que moi.

<sup>5</sup> Contrairement à ce que j'ai dit, *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 303, 13.

à Datame. Tant qu'on n'aura pas retrouvé d'exemplaire sur lequel les lettres sont mieux formées, il vaut mieux s'abstenir de proposer une transcription pour ce nom.

XXIX.—ATHÈNES. HIPPIAS, 514—511.

1. Tête diadémée de déesse à double face, les yeux de face, et parée de deux boucles d'oreilles.

*Rev.*—Tête, à droite, d'*Athéna*, l'œil de face, coiffée du casque athénien à cimier; derrière AOE; carré creux profond.

Æ 1. 1,55. Mus. d'Athènes. [Pl. VII, No. 8.]

1,09. Brit. Mus. *Cat. Attica*, p. 5, n. 29, Pl. II, 10; *Mus. P. Knight*, p. 85.

0,98. Cab. de France, *Rev. num.* 1848, p. 424, Pl. XVI, 7; Beulé, *Monn. d'Athènes*, p. 52 vign.

2. Tête, à droite, d'*Athéna*, l'œil de face, coiffée du casque athénien à cimier et parée de boucles d'oreilles.

*Rev.*—Tête de *Héra*(?), à gauche, l'œil de face, les cheveux pendants sur la nuque et reliés par des bandelettes en catogan; autour ΕΘΑ et pousse d'olivier; carré creux profond.

Æ 2. 2,07. Mus. Hunter, p. 58, n. 152, Pl. X, 27.<sup>6</sup> [Pl. VII, No. 7.]

Autre, la tête du revers à droite et derrière elle AΘE.

Æ 1½. 2,12<sup>5</sup>. Brit. Mus., l. c. n. 28, Pl. II, 9.

Autre, la tête du revers à droite et devant elle ΛOE.

Æ 1½. 2,18. Prokesch, *Inedita*, 1854, p. 26, T. II, 65; Beulé, l. c. p. 52 vign.

La tête à double face du n. 1 est identique à celle des plus anciennes monnaies en argent de Lampsaque, qui portent au revers une tête d'*Athéna*, coiffée du casque corinthien.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Décrit d'après une empreinte que je dois à l'obligeance de M. le Dr. Young, conservateur du Musée.

<sup>7</sup> Brit. Mus., *Cat. Mysia*, Pl. XVIII, 10.







La tête de Héra (?), du n. 2, est tout-à-fait semblable à celle des plus anciennes monnaies frappées à Herée pour les Arcadiens et qui ont au droit Zeus Aétophore assis et au revers la tête de Héra et **ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ**.<sup>8</sup>

Nous sommes donc en présence de monnaies à types combinés de deux états divers et nous pouvons en conclure à des alliances d'Athènes avec Lampsaque et avec les Arcadiens.

La date de ces alliances est donnée par Thucydide.<sup>9</sup>

Après la mort d'Hipparque, 514, Hippias sentant son pouvoir s'affaiblir, rechercha de tous côtés des alliés en état de lui donner l'appui nécessaire pour rester maître d'Athènes et lui fournir un refuge en cas de besoin.

Pour s'assurer l'aide du roi de Perse, il maria sa fille Archedicé à Aiantidès, le fils du tyran de Lampsaque Hippoclos, qui, comme son fils, était fort en faveur auprès de Darius I, à cause des services qu'ils lui avaient rendus lors de l'expédition contre les Scythes, 515—14 env.<sup>10</sup>

C'est à l'occasion de cette alliance et de ce mariage, 513 (?), qu'aurent été émises les petites monnaies, n. 1, qui réunissent les images des déesses tutélaires de

<sup>8</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat. *Peloponn.*, Pl. XXI, 11, 12, 14, 15 ; Imhoof, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, III, T. VII, 8, 9 ; IX, T. II, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. VI, 59. ὁ Ἰππίας διὰ φόβου ἤδη μᾶλλον ὢν—πρὸς τὰ ἔξω—διεσκοπεῖτο, εἰποῦεν ἀσφάλειάν τινα ὁρῆν μεταβολῆς γενομένης ὑπάρχουσάν οἱ. Ἰππόκλου γοῦν τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ τυράννου Αἰαντίδῃ τῷ παιδί θυγατέρα ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρχεδίκην Ἀθηναῖος ὢν Λαμψακηνῷ ἔδωκεν, αἰσθανόμενος αὐτοὺς μέγα παρὰ βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ δύνασθαι. Καὶ αὐτῆς σῆμα ἐν Λαμψάκῃ ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον τὸδε· Ἀνδρὸς ἀριστεύσαντος ἐν Ἑλλάδι τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, Ἰππίου Ἀρχεδίκην ἦδε κέκευθε κόνις, ἥ πατὴρ τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὖσα τυράννων, παίδων τ' οὐκ ἤρθη νοῦν ἐς ἀτασθαλίην. Τυραννεύσας δὲ ἔτη τρία Ἰππίας ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων—ἐχώρει ὑπόσπονδος ἐς τε Σίγειον καὶ παρ' Αἰαντίδην ἐς Λάμψακον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὡς βασιλεῖα Δαρείου, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Hérodote, IV, 138.

Lampsaque et d'Athènes et dont celle de 1 gr. 55 est un trihémiobole de Lampsaque,<sup>11</sup> tandis que les deux autres sont des trihémioboles attiques.

Quand Hippias dut quitter Athènes, 511, il se refugia à Sigée, qui appartenait aux Pisistratides et il séjourna souvent à Lampsaque, chez sa fille et son gendre; ses petit-fils succédèrent à leur père Aiantidès et le symbole athénien, la branche d'olivier, se voit encore dans le champ ou autour du casque d'Athéna, sur les monnaies de Lampsaque au commencement du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>12</sup>

Non content de cette alliance avec un puissant vassal du roi de Perse, Hippias se mit sous la protection des Lacédémoniens, dont il était l'ami, à condition de tenir Athènes sous leur dépendance.<sup>13</sup> Par là Athènes sera devenue membre de la symmachie Lacédémonienne et c'est ce que me semblent impliquer les monnaies, n. 2.

Ne pouvant combiner le type d'Athènes avec celui de Sparte qui ne battait pas monnaie, Hippias adopta la tête de Héra des monnaies émises à Herée pour la circulation en Arcadie, les seules probablement qui, à cette époque, avaient cours dans le centre du Péloponnèse; c'était placer Athènes au même rang que l'Arcadie vis-à-vis des Lacédémoniens.

Comme l'a vu M. Head, ces petites monnaies, que je

<sup>11</sup> Comp. l'obole de 1 gr. 01, *Cat. Mysia*, p. 80, n. 18. La drachme, alors à 6 gr. 10, a été bientôt réduite au poids du siglos perse.

<sup>12</sup> *Cat. Brit. Mus. Mysia*, p. 80, n. 19 (casque couronné); Ma coll., R 4. 5 gr. 21 (branche d'olivier dans le champ du revers).

<sup>13</sup> Busolt, *die Lakedaemonier*, 1878, p. 298, d'après Hérodote V, 91, où les Lacédémoniens nomment Hippias et les siens *ἀνδρας ξείνους ἔοντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας*. Cp. V, 63: *Πεισιστρατίδας—ξείνους σφι ἔοντας τὰ μάλιστα*.

crois émises par Hippias entre 514 et 511, sont de même style et de la même époque que les plus anciens tétradrachmes à la tête d'Athéna et au revers de la chouette. Je ne puis donc suivre ni M. Gardner quand il fait commencer les monnaies des Arcadiens en 480, ni accepter la date 594 à 527 que M. Head assigne aux premiers tétradrachmes d'Athènes; ceux-ci me paraissent, au contraire, avoir été frappés d'abord sous Hippias,<sup>14</sup> puis, après son expulsion, par les Athéniens jusqu'en 490.

Les plus anciens exemplaires, avec le  $\oplus$ , comme les n. 5 à 7, Pl. II, *cat. Attica*—dont le n. 6 est le seul sur lequel Athéna porte encore le casque primitif, à haut cimier—et le n. 3, où la chouette est à gauche, sont antérieurs à 514, puisque les fractions, Pl. II, 9, 10, ont déjà le  $\odot$  plus récent. Mais parmi les autres tétradrachmes je n'en vois pas qui soient antérieurs aux trioboles frappés en signe d'alliance avec Sparte.

Comment se fait-il donc que ces tétradrachmes ont un aspect si archaïque que M. Head a pu les croire contemporains de Solon ?

C'est, à mon avis, parceque les coïns n'ont pas été exécutés par des orfèvres ou des graveurs en pierre dure, comme à Syracuse ou à Samos, mais par des sculpteurs, accoutumés à tailler des statues de grandeur naturelle et des reliefs en ronde bosse et qui, à force de copier un modèle, excellent pour l'époque, Pl. II, 7, ont fini par produire les têtes non pas archaïques mais presque barbares de la Pl. I,<sup>15</sup> faute de tenir compte de la proportion requise

<sup>14</sup> C'est aussi l'avis de M. Imhoof, *Annuaire Soc. Fr. de Num.* 1882, p. 89, 90, et de M. Howorth, *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 156.

<sup>15</sup> Un lot de tétradrachmes tout à fait barbares—dont les empreintes sont devant moi—a été trouvé dans l'acropole d'Athènes, caché sous une statue renversée, en 480 (?). Serait-ce

entre l'œil et la tête. La chouette au revers n'a rien de primitif et les cheveux d'Athéna sont relevés en chignon sur la nuque, d'après une mode qui ne commence que vers la fin du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle et qui n'est introduite à Syracuse que sous le règne de Gélon.

Après la victoire de Marathon, et non en 527, à la mort de Pisistrate, la déesse couronne son casque de feuilles de son olivier sacré et le butin remporté sur les Perses permet de frapper des décadrachmes, Pl. III, 1, en même temps que des tétradrachmes, Pl. III, 5, des didrachmes, Pl. IV, 4, des drachmes, coll. Imhoof [Pl. VII, No. 11] et des fractions, où les cheveux d'Athéna sont disposés de la même manière sur le front, toutes pièces assez rares pour en limiter l'émission entre 490 et 480. Et c'est parceque ces trois feuilles d'olivier—qu'on retrouve sur la tête de Héra en Arcadie vers la même époque—font allusion à la victoire de Marathon, si chère à tout Athénien, que ce type est devenu immuable et a été conservé pendant plus de deux siècles, jusqu'à ce que avec l'adoption de la tête de la Parthenos de Phidias pour le droit, la couronne d'olivier fut transportée au revers autour de la chouette.

Mais, si Hippias a, le premier, fait battre des tétradrachmes à la tête d'Athéna et à la chouette, c'est aussi à lui que reviennent les rares didrachmes—car ce sont des didrachmes comme je le montrerai tantôt—à la tête de Gorgone et au revers d'une tête de bœuf vue de face, qui, d'après leur beau style, sont postérieurs à ceux dont le revers montre un lion de face, accosté parfois de deux

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une émission faite en grande hâte pendant qu'Hippias était assiégé dans l'Acropole? La drachme [Pl. VII, No. 6] qui faisait partie du même lot le ferait croire.

globules, signes du didrachme. Car cette Gorgone est du même faire que l'Athéna, Pl. II, 7, et sans doute l'œuvre du même artiste; c'est le même visage vu tantôt de face et tantôt de profil.

Ainsi s'explique la donnée de Philochore que les tétradrachmes à la chouette ont été précédés par des didrachmes au bœuf; c'est des monnaies émises sous Hippias qu'il s'agit dans ce passage de son *Atthide*.<sup>16</sup>

M. Head remarque,<sup>17</sup> qu'une tête de bœuf n'est pas un bœuf entier, mais une tête casquée n'est pas non plus une jeune fille tout entière et pourtant le tétradrachme d'Athènes a été nommé *πάρθενος, κόρη* et *Πάλλας*;<sup>18</sup> d'ailleurs un taureau cornupète vu de face est fort bien figuré par la tête seule, qui est la partie la plus saillante et la plus dangereuse pour qui s'en approche.

Deux poids, découverts sur l'acropole d'Athènes et datant, d'après la forme des lettres, de la première moitié du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle, une demi-mine, *ἡμισυ ἱερὸν δημόσιον Ἀθηναίων*, de 426 gr. 63, et un *δεκαστάτηρον*, de 177 gr. 52,<sup>19</sup> nous apprennent qu'à cette époque, celle de Solon et de Pisisstrate, la mine d'Athènes pesait 853 gr. 26 et le statère 17 gr. 75. Il s'en suit que la drachme était alors de 8 gr. 53 à 8 gr. 87, le double de ce qu'elle pesait plus tard et que le statère ou didrachme avait le poids du tétradrachme postérieur. Ces données sont confirmées par

<sup>16</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Aves*. 1106. *Φιλόχορος · ἐκλήθη δὲ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τετραδράχμιον τότε γλαῦξ, ἣν γὰρ γλαῦξ ἐπίσημον καὶ πρόσωπον Ἀθηναῖς, τῶν προτέρων διδράχμων ὄντων ἐπίσημον δὲ βοῦν ἔχοντων*. Pollux IX, 60.

<sup>17</sup> *Cat. Attica*, p. xviii.

<sup>18</sup> Pollux, IX, 76.

<sup>19</sup> E. Pernice, *Griech. Gewichte*, 1894, p. 81, n. 1; 82, n. 2. Planche n. 1, 2.

Aristote,<sup>20</sup> quand il dit que l'étalon monétaire d'Athènes, —la monnaie primaire, dont les autres ne sont que des fractions et qu'il nomme *χαρακτήρ*, —était anciennement un didrachme, c'est-à-dire qu'il se divisait alors en deux drachmes et non en quatre, comme plus tard.

Aristote ajoute que la mine de Solon était plus forte que celle qui avait été en usage avant ce législateur et il refute<sup>21</sup> ainsi l'assertion erronée d'Androtion qui, oubliant que la drachme de Solon était double de celle de son temps, en était venu à croire que Solon avait diminué le poids de la drachme et de la mine.

Maintenant que nous sommes mieux renseignés, nous pouvons comprendre le passage d'Aristote (?),<sup>22</sup> où il est dit que Hippias retira de la circulation les monnaies qui avaient cours de son temps et que, quand on procéda à la frappe d'un nouvel *étalon*, il rendit aux Athéniens le même argent.

Le tableau suivant montrera ce qui se passa.

<sup>20</sup> Aristote, 'Αθ. πολ. 10. πρὸ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ποιήσας τὴν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν τε τῶν μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος αὐξήσιν. Ἐπ' ἐκείνου (Solon) γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ μέτρα μείζω τῶν Φειδωνείων καὶ ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄγουσα πα(ρ') ὀλίγον ἐβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἀνηπληρώθη τοτ' εἰς ἑκατὸν. Ἦν δ' ὁ ἀρχαῖος χαρακτήρ διδραχμον. 70 drachmes de 8<sup>23</sup> gr. = 611 gr.

<sup>21</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* v. *Androtion*, I, p. 2175. Plutarch, *Solon* 15. Ἀνδροτίων—Ἐκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε (Solon) δραχμῶν τὴν μὲν πρότερον ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὖσαν· ὥστ' ἀριθμῶ μὲν ἴσον, δυνάμει δ' ἔλαττον ἀποδίδοντων, etc. 100 drachmes de 4<sup>23</sup> gr. = 73 drachmes de 6 gr.

<sup>22</sup> Aristot. *Oecon.* II, 4. τὸ τε νόμισμα τὸ ὃν Ἀθηναῖοις ἀδόκιμον ἐποίησε (Hippias), τάξας δὲ τιμὴν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακομίζειν· συνελθόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κόψῳ ἕτερον χαρακτήρα, ἐξέδωκε τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργύριον. Comp. l'inser. de Sestos, *Hermes*, VII, 1873, p. 113 suiv., l. 43—45. τοῦ τε δήμου προελομένου νομίσματος χαλκινῶ χρήσθαι ἰδίῳ, χάριν τοῦ νομιστεύσθαι μὲν τὸν τῆς πόλεως χαρακτήρα, etc.

	17 <sup>400</sup>	8 <sup>73</sup>	4 <sup>355</sup>	2 <sup>18</sup>	1 <sup>09</sup>	0 <sup>728</sup>	0 <sup>54</sup>	0 <sup>35</sup>	0 <sup>27</sup>
<i>Solon, Pisistrate</i>	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{64}$	$\frac{1}{128}$
<i>Hippias</i>	4	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{64}$

L'étalon de 17<sup>400</sup> est resté le même, mais le statère ou didrachme est devenu tétradrachme et la mine de 873 gr. est réduite de moitié !

### XXX.—DÉLOS. PISISTRATE, 533—527.

1. Chouette, à gauche, la tête de face. Style archaïque.

Rev.— $\Delta$  dans un carré creux.

EL 1. 1,36. Cab. de France ; Beulé, *Monn. d'Athènes*, p. 64 vign. ; Babelon, *Rev. num.*, 1895, p. 41, n. 56, Pl. I, 22. Trouvé en Attique.

1,36. Brit. Mus. ; *Mus. P. Knight*, p. 31 ; Head, *Num. Chron.*, 1887, p. 289, n. 42, Pl. X, 42 ; *Cat. Attica*, p. xiii, p. 1, n. 1, Pl. I, n. 1.

1,34. Koehler, *Mittheil. d. D. Arch. Inst. Athen.*, 1884, IX, p. 359—362. Trouvé en Attique.

1,31. Koehler, *l. c.* Trouvé dans le lit de l'Ilissos, près d'Athènes.<sup>23</sup>

1,29<sup>5</sup> troné. *Catal. Meletopoulos*, p. 95, n. 67, T. IV, 67. Trouvé au Pirée.

2. Même droit.

Rev.—Creux informe.

EL  $\frac{1}{2}$ . 0,30. Brit. Mus. ; *Num. Chron.*, 1887, p. 289, n. 43, Pl. X, 48.

Hémihectes et 48<sup>me</sup> d'un statère phocaïque de 16 gr. 32.

Un grand  $\Delta$ , initiale du nom des Déliens, forme à lui seul la légende des plus anciennes monnaies de Délos, qui nous sont connues ; elles ont été publiées récemment par M. H. Weber.<sup>24</sup>

C'est à la même île que je voudrais attribuer ces hémi-

<sup>23</sup> C'est par erreur que M. Koehler cite encore un exemplaire de 1 gr. 44 au Cabinet de Turin. Cette pièce porte d'autres types, v. Beulé, p. 68, n. 7.

<sup>24</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 201—203, Pl. XVI, 11, 12.



hectes, au type de la chouette athénienne, qui portent au revers le même  $\Delta$  et qui ont été trouvés à Athènes ou dans les environs.

Nous savons, en effet, que lorsque Pisistrate se rendit pour la troisième fois maître d'Athènes, 533, avec l'aide des Erétriens et de Lygdamis le Naxien, son premier soin fut de s'emparer de Naxos et d'y installer Lygdamis comme tyran.<sup>25</sup> Puis il purifia les environs du temple d'Apollon à Délos, ce qui montre qu'il était aussi maître de cette île.<sup>26</sup>

C'est donc à Pisistrate que je voudrais classer ces hémihectes à la chouette d'Athènes et au  $\Delta$  de Délos; ils dateraient de sa troisième tyrannie, 533 à 527.

Comme l'a remarqué Beulé, la chouette est toute pareille à celle des drachmes et oboles, provenant de trouvailles faites en Attique et en Eubée et qui ont été classées à Athènes par Cousinery et par Beulé.

*Chouette, à gauche, la tête de face, dans un cercle.*

*Rev.*—Carré creux divisé en quatre triangles par des barres diagonales.

AR 4. 8,42—7,80. Cousinery, *Voyage en Macéd.* II, p. 125, 1, Pl. 4, n. 1; Mion. *Rec. d. Pl.* XL, 1; Beulé, *Monn. d'Ath.* p. 17, 19 vign.; *Rev. num.*, 1856, Pl. XI, 1; *Cat. Brit. Mus., Centr. Greece*, p. 186, 1, Pl. XXIV, 18; Imhoof, *Annuaire Soc. Fr. de Num.*, 1882, p. 103.

AR 1. 0,72<sup>2</sup>, 0,65. Beulé, *M. d'Ath.* l. c.; *Rev. num.*, l. c., Pl. XI, 2; *Brit. Mus.*, l. c., p. 186, n. 2, Pl. XXIV, 19; Imhoof, l. c.

Si donc Pisistrate a fait battre les hémihectes à la chouette pour Délos, c'est lui aussi qui aura émis à Athènes les drachmes et oboles au même type; mais comme ces dernières pièces sont de style plus archaïque, il est fort

<sup>25</sup> Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II, 1895, p. 324, n. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Hérodote, I, 64; Thucyd. III, 104.

probable qu'elles datent de sa seconde tyrannie, 550 à 544,<sup>27</sup> et qu'il aura adopté ce type quand il fut ramené sur l'acropole par Athéna elle-même, représentée par une femme vêtue et armée comme la déesse.

Il est vrai que l'attribution à Athènes de ces monnaies anépigraphes a été contestée par M. Imhoof et que M. Head les a classées à une des villes d'Eubée, comme l'a fait aussi M. Babelon.<sup>28</sup>

Mais, d'après la composition des trouvailles, décrites par M. Koehler,<sup>29</sup> cette opinion me paraît décidément erronée. Les dépôts ne contenaient que des monnaies certaines d'Athènes et d'Erétrie et des monnaies anépigraphes à types divers, mais toutes d'un même style et au même carré creux, divisé en quatre triangles par des barres diagonales. Donc, ces monnaies anépigraphes doivent provenir toutes d'un même atelier,<sup>30</sup> soit de celui d'Athènes, soit d'Erétrie, mais ne sauraient être distribuées entre d'autres villes d'Eubée.<sup>31</sup> Or le type de la chouette suffit, à lui seul, pour décider en faveur d'Athènes, à laquelle plusieurs des autres types conviennent aussi parfaitement.

Ainsi le *cheval* est particulièrement adapté pour Pisisstrate et presque un type parlant pour celui qui donna à ses fils les noms d'Hippias et d'Hipparque et qui aura

<sup>27</sup> Les dates exactes pour le règne des Pisistratides sont données par Aristote, 'Αθ. πολ., 14 suiv., où : *ἔτει δὲ δωδεκάτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα* (14), signifie : *μετὰ τὴν πρώτην κατάστασιν*. Voir les objections de Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II, 1895, p. 318, 319.

<sup>28</sup> Babelon, *Les monnaies d'or d'Athènes*, *Rev. d. étud. Grecq.*, II, 1889, p. 124—148 ; *Mélang. numism.*, I, p. 177—201.

<sup>29</sup> *Mittheil. d. D. Arch. Inst. Athen.* IX, 1884, p. 354—362.

<sup>30</sup> Comme l'a vu M. Head, *Num. Chron.* 1893, p. 162.

<sup>31</sup> Quand j'ai exprimé une opinion contraire, *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 99, je n'avais pas encore étudié la série des monnaies anépigraphes dans son ensemble, comme j'ai pu le faire maintenant.

émis les pièces à ce type pendant sa première tyrannie, 560—555, date probable de la naissance de ces fils.<sup>32</sup>

La roue<sup>33</sup> serait donc le type de Solon et convient à l'époque où les familles nobles, qui se disputaient le gouvernement de l'Attique, excellaient à élever des chevaux de course.<sup>34</sup>

Tant que les Athéniens n'eurent pas érigé de temple à Athéna, ce qui paraît avoir été l'œuvre des Pisistratides, la déesse demeura, comme à l'époque mycénienne et homérique, dans l'ancien palais royal d'Erechthée.

C'est donc le symbole de ce roi mythique, et héros éponyme, qui le premier monta dans le char que lui avait donné Athéna,<sup>35</sup> que portent les monnaies émises par Solon, et ce type de la roue, l'abréviation du char, aura été d'autant mieux accueilli qu'en 592, l'année même où Aristote<sup>36</sup> place la législation de Solon. La victoire aux courses de chars à Olympie fut pour la première fois remportée par un Athénien, Mégaclês, qui paraît devoir être identifié avec Alcmeon, fils de Mégaclês, le chef de la famille puissante des Alcmeonides.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> En 490, Hippias, l'ainé, était ήδη γέρων. Thucyd. VI, 59. Il aura eu env. 70 ans.

<sup>33</sup> L'attribution des monnaies à la roue à Chalcis, *Cat. Central Greece*, ne saurait être admise, parce que les monnaies certaines de Chalcis sont taillées d'après un autre système, comme je le montrerai plus loin; celles-ci ne datent pas de 480 à 445, mais sont antérieures à 506, quand les Athéniens, ἔθνη Βωιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες, s'emparèrent du territoire de Chalcis et que cette ville, jadis si puissante, perdit toute importance; en 506 la dernière pièce combine le bouclier Béotien avec la roue de Chalcis.

<sup>34</sup> Hérodote, VI, 35. ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευε καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου.

<sup>35</sup> Schol. Aristid. *Panath.* ed. Dind. 3, 62. ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει—γέγραπται (Erechtheus) ἄρμα ἐλαύνων, ὡς πρῶτος τοῦτο τῆς θεοῦ δεξάμενος.

<sup>36</sup> Aristote, 'A9. πολ. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Toepffer dans Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* v. *Alkmaionidae*, I, p. 1559; Schol. Pindar, *Pyth.* VII, 1, Hérodote, VI, 125.

Les pièces à la roue auront été frappées pendant les trente-deux ans de 592 à 561, celles à d'autres types entourés d'un *cercle*, comme pour simuler une roue et presque toutes fort rares, conviennent soit à Pisistrate, comme le *cheval*, la *chouette*, l'*amphore* à huile,<sup>38</sup> soit aux intervalles que le tyran passa en exil, comme l'*osselet*, le *triscèle*, la *grenouille*, le *scarabée*.<sup>39</sup>

Tout à la fin du règne de Pisistrate et sous Hippias et Hipparque se classent enfin les pièces à la *Gorgone*,<sup>40</sup> soit seule, soit au revers d'un *lion*<sup>41</sup> ou d'un *taureau de face*, dont le style est de beaucoup supérieur à celui des précédentes. La Gorgone est celle qui orne la poitrine

<sup>38</sup> La chouette et l'amphore à huile forment ensemble le type du revers à la fin du 3<sup>e</sup> siècle, tandis que les types qui me semblent être les symboles des adversaires de Pisistrate et avoir été usités pendant son exil, comme l'osselet, le triscèle, la grenouille, le scarabée, ne sont plus employés plus tard. Enfin, le cheval rappelait trop les noms d'Hippias et d'Hipparque pour avoir pu être repris.

<sup>39</sup> Cette drachme de 8 gr. 25 au scarabée, coll. Weber, du *Cat. Photiadès Pacha*, n. 495, Pl. III, simule fort bien une tortue d'Egine et c'est ce qui aura fait choisir le type.

<sup>40</sup> Elles sont en partie contemporaines des monnaies d'Erètrie, l'alliée de Pisistrate, que M. Head date de 480—445, mais qui, à mon avis, sont antérieures à la destruction d'Erètrie par les Perses et que je daterais volontiers d'environ 527—490.

<sup>41</sup> L'adoption par Pisistrate du lion de face, l'ancien type de Samos, Babelon, *Rev. num.*, 1894, p. 157, Pl. III, 17, 18, repris et modifié par Polycrate, *ibid.*, Pl. X, me semble un témoignage de l'alliance intime des deux tyrans. C'était Lygdamis, le lieutenant de Pisistrate, qui avait aidé Polycrate à se rendre maître de Samos, 532. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* II, 1895, p. 508. Les premières monnaies de Polycrate au mufle de lion se relient exactement aux dernières monnaies d'Athènes au lion de face, quand on se souvient que Polycrate avait les meilleurs graveurs du temps à sa cour. Je date donc celles de Pisistrate de 532 à 527, celles de Polycrate de 527 à 523. De 532 à 527 Polycrate a pour types le protome ou la tête de taureau au revers de la tête de lion. Babelon, *l. c.*, Pl. X, 11, 12.

d'Athéna, c'est comme une abréviation de son image; aussi précède-t-elle immédiatement la tête d'Athéna sur les tétradrachmes d'Hippias, où la chouette, l'ancien type de son père, est reprise pour le revers. La Gorgone reste, à côté de la chouette, le sceau officiel d'Athènes et suffit à elle seule pour légaliser les tablettes judiciaires.<sup>42</sup>

Le tableau suivant est un essai *provisoire* de classement pour les monnaies primitives d'Athènes, rangées d'après la forme du carré creux et d'autres indices.

594/3 ou 592/1. Législation de *Solon*.

592. Victoire olympique d'un  
Alcméonide.

<i>Roue. Rev.</i> —Carré creux divisé en quatre triangles <sup>43</sup>	8 <sup>59</sup> , 4 <sup>37</sup>	1 <sup>02</sup> , 0 <sup>71</sup> , 0 <sup>55</sup>	0 <sup>20</sup>
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560—555. *Pisistrate*, 1<sup>re</sup> tyrannie.

Protome de <i>cheval</i> , à g., dans un <i>cercle</i> . . . . .	8 <sup>43</sup> , 3 <sup>73</sup> (sans cercle) <sup>(44)</sup>
Partie postérieure de <i>cheval</i> , dans un <i>cercle</i> . . . . .	8 <sup>42</sup> , 4 <sup>356</sup>
<i>Cheval</i> debout, à g., dans un <i>cercle</i> . . . . .	8 <sup>45</sup>

554—551. Exil.

550—544. *Pisistrate*, 2<sup>e</sup> tyrannie.

<i>Chouette</i> dans un <i>cercle</i> . . . . .	8 <sup>42</sup>	0 <sup>725</sup>
<i>Amphore</i> à huile dans un <i>cercle</i> . . . . .	8 <sup>40</sup> , (sans cercle) 0 <sup>63</sup> , 0 <sup>55</sup>	

543—534. Exil.

<i>Osselet</i> dans un <i>cercle</i> . . . . .	8 <sup>45</sup>
<i>Triscèle</i> dans un <i>cercle</i> . . . . .	8 <sup>10</sup> 2 <sup>0</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Corp. inscr. Attic.*, II, 2, p. 347, n. 876—937. S. Bruck, *Organis. d. Athen. Heliastenger. Philologus*, LIV (1895), p. 64—79.

<sup>43</sup> Le même carré creux se voit sur les pièces suivantes.

<sup>44</sup> Surfrappé sur un hémidrachme à la roue. *Rev. num.*, 1865, Pl. VII, 3.

<i>Grenouille</i> . . . . .			0 <sup>70</sup>	
<i>Scarabée</i> . . . . .	8 <sup>25</sup>		0 <sup>70</sup>	
( <i>Scarabée. Rev.—Tête de</i> <i>Gorgone [Pl. VII, No. 9]</i>		AR 1½ <sup>(45)</sup>		
533—527. <i>Pisistrate, 3<sup>e</sup> tyrannie.</i>				
Protome de cheval bridé à dr. . . . .	8 <sup>15</sup>			
T. de <i>Gorgone. Rev.—Pro-</i> <i>tome de cheva</i> . . . .			0 <sup>70</sup>	
T. de <i>Gorgone</i> . . . . .	8 <sup>71</sup>		1 <sup>02</sup> , 0 <sup>72</sup> , 0 <sup>50</sup>	0 <sup>20</sup>
T. de <i>Gorgone. Rev.—Lion</i> vu de face . . . . .	17 <sup>40</sup>			
527—514. <i>Hippias et Hip-</i> <i>parque.</i>				
T. de <i>Gorgone. Rev.—T.</i> de bœuf de face . . . .	16 <sup>48</sup>			
T. de bœuf de face . . . .	8 <sup>65</sup>			0 <sup>32</sup>
T. d' <i>Athéna. Rev.—Chou-</i> <i>ette, AΘE</i> . . . . .	17 <sup>40</sup>			
514—511. <i>Hippias.</i>				
T. d' <i>Athéna. Rev.—Chou-</i> <i>ette, AΘE</i> . . . . .	17 <sup>65</sup>	4 <sup>37</sup> , 2 <sup>125</sup> , 1 <sup>09</sup> , 0 <sup>50</sup>		0 <sup>38</sup>

XXXI.—CARDIA. MILTIADÈS, STRATÈGE ET TYRAN DES  
CHERSONÉSITES, AVANT 515—493.

1. *Lion*, à droite, sur une ligne d'exergue, retournant la tête,  
la gueule béante, la patte gauche de devant levée.  
Beau style archaïque.

*Rev.—Tête d'Athéna, à droite, l'œil presque de face, coiffée*  
*du casque athénien à cimier et parée de boucles*  
*d'oreilles en forme de ⊙; devant XED. Carré*  
*creux.*

AR 6. 16,30. Cab. de France [Pl. VII, No. 1], *Catal.*  
*Allier*, p. 26, Pl. IV, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Poids inconnu; de style un peu plus récent. Imhoof et  
Keller, *Tier u. Pflanzenbild.*, T. VII, 13.

2. Tête de *lion*, à gauche, la gueule béante, les dents visibles, l'œil rond.

*Rev.*—Carré creux divisé en quatre parties par des barres.

AR 2. 2,61. Mus. de Berlin, *Beschreib.* I, p. 250, n. 9.

3. Autre, l'œil de face, la tranche du cou définie par un gros grènetis.

AR 2. 2,70. Ma coll. *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, III, 1876, p. 878.

2,66 ; 2,46. Mus. de Berlin, *l. c.*, n. 7 ; 8 [Pl. VII, No. 3] ; Prokesch, *Num. Zeitschr.*, IV, 1872, p. 210, n. 3, T. IX, 14.

2,59. Cat. Whittall, 1858, n. 92 ; Brandis, p. 521.

4. Autre, les dents ne sont pas exprimées ; la tranche du cou définie par un grènetis entre deux lignes.

*Rev.*—Carré creux divisé en quatre parties, dont deux, en diagonale, sont plus profondes que les autres.

AR 2. 2,71. Cab. de Munich.

2,65 ; 2,55. Coll. Imhoof.

2,64. Mus. de Berlin, *l. c.*, n. 10 [Pl. VII, No. 4] ; Fox, *Uned. coins*, I, p. 18, n. 54, Pl. VI, 54.

5. Type du n. 1, mais de style un peu plus récent.

*Rev.*—Tête d'*Athéna*, à gauche, l'œil de face, coiffée du casque athénien à cimier et parée de boucles d'oreilles en forme de ☉, les cheveux relevés en chignon sous le casque. Beau style archaïque.

AR 5½/4½. 17,10. Coll. Imhoof. [Pl. VII, No. 2.]  
16,88. Coll. Weber, *Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 188, 6, Pl. XV, 5.

16,76. Mus. de Berlin, *l. c.*, p. 249, 3, T. VI, 6 ; Prokesch, *l. c.*, p. 209, 1, T. IX, 12.

16,40. Coll. de Hirsch, *Ann. Soc. Fr. de Num.*, 1884, p. 30, 1, Pl. I, 1.

6. Partie antérieure du même *lion*, à droite, retournant la tête, la gueule béante et la patte gauche levée.

*Rev.*—Carré creux divisé en quatre parties par des barres.

AR 2. 2,75. Coll. Imhoof. [Pl. VII, No. 5.]

2,69. Brit. Mus. *Cat. Thrace*, p. 182, 1 vign.

2,68. Mus. de Berlin, *l. c.*, p. 251, n. 11.

7. AR 2. 1,39 ; 1,28 ; 1,18. Mus. de Berlin, n. 14, 12 (Prokesch, *l. c.*, p. 210, 4), et 13.  
 1,81. Mus. d'Athènes, Postolacca, *Catal.* 1872, p. 155, n. 1062.  
 1,25. Coll. Imhoof.  
 1,18. Ma coll.  
 1,10. Brit. Mus., *l. c.*, n. 2.
8. AR  $\frac{3}{4}$ . 0,33'. Brit. Mus., n. 3.
9. AR  $\frac{3}{4}$ . 0,22. Brit. Mus., n. 4.

Toutes ces monnaies sont taillées d'après l'ancien système euboïque, tel qu'il était usité au 7<sup>e</sup> siècle pour l'electrum à Samos,<sup>46</sup> et au 6<sup>e</sup> siècle pour l'argent à Chalcis d'Eubée et dans les villes de la Chalcidique, comme l'a montré M. Imhoof.<sup>47</sup>

	6	3	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{32}$
Samos, EL . . .	17,43	8,76		2,90	1,45		0,70			
Chalcis, AR . .	17,10	8,50		2,88				0,47		
Aineia . . .	17,12			2,61	1,30					
Dicaea Eretr. .	17,15	7,20		2,81		0,87	0,73	0,40	0,34	
Potidaea . . .	17,60			2,81	1,36					
Mende . . .	17,22			2,79				0,44	0,30	
Olynthos . . .	17,50		5,59	2,80	1,31					
Sernyle . . .	17,13			2,84						
Terone . . .	17,24			2,47	1,30			0,44	0,37	0,20
Acanthos . . .	17,64			2,70	1,29		0,62	0,44	0,37 <sup>5</sup>	0,21
Cardia . . .	17,10			2,75	1,39				0,33 <sup>7</sup>	0,22

La différence entre ce système euboïque de Samos et de Chalcis et celui d'Athènes et d'Erétrie,<sup>48</sup> étroitement

<sup>46</sup> Babelon, *Rev. num.*, 1894, p. 158, 159. C'est par erreur que sur la Pl. X, 4, figure une monnaie en argent de 4 gr. 08, au lieu de celle de 4 gr. 29, en electrum, décrite p. 256, n. 4, qui ne me semble pas appartenir au système primitif de Samos.

<sup>47</sup> Imhoof, *Die Euboeische Silberwährung*, *Monatsber. K. Ak. d. Wiss. Berlin*, 1881, p. 659, suiv. *Ann. Soc. Fr. de Num.*, 1882, p. 97, 101, 102, dont j'ai complété la liste de mon mieux, d'après les publications récentes de MM. Greenwell, Weber, Loebbecke et d'autres données.

<sup>48</sup> Imhoof, *Euboeische Währung*, *l. c.*, p. 663, 664 ; *Annuaire*, *l. c.*, p. 97, 98.



liées sous Pisistrate, depuis 534, et ennemies de Chalcis, est évidente.

L'étalon de 17 gr. 466 est toujours le même et Solon l'adopta sans le modifier,<sup>49</sup> mais la division en drachmes est autre.

<i>Euboïque</i>	.	17 <sup>466</sup>	873	5 <sup>82</sup>	2 <sup>91</sup>	1 <sup>465</sup>	0 <sup>97</sup>	0 <sup>728</sup>	0 <sup>485</sup>	0 <sup>36</sup>	0 <sup>24</sup>
		6	3	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{12}$
<i>Attique et</i>											
<i>Erétrien</i>	.	17 <sup>466</sup>	873	4 <sup>360</sup>	218	1 <sup>465(50)</sup>	1 <sup>00</sup>	0 <sup>728</sup>	0 <sup>54</sup>	0 <sup>36</sup>	0 <sup>27</sup>
<i>Solon,</i>											
<i>Pisistrate</i>		2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{12}$	$\frac{1}{16}$
<i>Hippias.</i>	.	4	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{12}$

Comme l'a vu M. Head,<sup>51</sup> les monnaies décrites sous le n. 5 datent d'environ 500 à 480 et M. Holm<sup>52</sup> en conclut avec raison qu'elles ont été émises pendant que Miltiadès, fils de Cimon, était stratège et tyran des Chersonésites, comme le nomme Hérodote.<sup>53</sup>

On sait comment il obtint ce pouvoir. Quand Pisisstrate se fut rendu maître d'Athènes, Miltiadès, fils de Cypselos, de la puissante famille des Philaïdes, et qui occupait le plus haut rang dans l'état, saisit la première occasion favorable pour se soustraire au nouveau régime et alla fonder des colonies athéniennes à Cardia, Elaïous,

<sup>49</sup> D'après Aristote, 'Αθ. πολ., 10, Solon fixa l'unité des poids d'après l'étalon monétaire en l'augmentant de cinq pour cent, sans doute pour couvrir les frais du monnayage. 'Εποίησε δὲ καὶ σταθμὸν πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα τρεῖς καὶ ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον ἀγούσας καὶ διανεμήθησαν αἱ μναὶ τῷ στατήρι (le δίδμων postérieur, égal à la mine de Solon) καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σταθμοῖς. Ainsi un talent d'argent en lingots donnait un talent d'argent monnayé et en outre trois mines pour les frais de la frappe.

<sup>50</sup> Ce diobole, de 1 gr. 44, est d'Erétrie.

<sup>51</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 222.

<sup>52</sup> Holm, *Griech. Gesch.*, II, p. 17, n. 11.

<sup>53</sup> Hérodote, IV, 187. Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, cp. VI, 84. Ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων—Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στρησαγόρεω.

Crithoté et Pactyé<sup>54</sup> dans la Chersonèse de Thrace, dont il devint dynaste.<sup>55</sup>

A son décès, après 524, l'état qu'il avait fondé passa à son neveu Stésagoras, fils de Cimon, qu'il avait élevé auprès de lui en Chersonèse,<sup>56</sup> et, après la mort de Stésagoras, à Miltiadès, l'autre fils de Cimon, qui était resté à Athènes chez son père.<sup>57</sup>

Envoyé par les Pisistratides en Chersonèse, Miltiadès prit part à la garde du pont sur le Danube, lors de l'expédition de Darius contre les Scythes, env. 515/4,<sup>58</sup> et resta en pouvoir, non sans interruptions,<sup>59</sup> jusqu'en 493, quand il quitta Cardia pour toujours et retourna avec sa famille à Athènes.<sup>60</sup>

Les monnaies de Cardia, n. 1—9, conviennent à son règne.

Les n. 1, 5 à 9, portent au droit le lion qui retourne la tête, type des Milésiens, par lesquels Cardia avait été fondée,<sup>61</sup> et sur le revers des grandes pièces, 1 et 5, se voit la tête d'Athéna, qu'Hippias venait d'adopter comme type de ses tétradrachmes.

Sur le statère, n. 1, cette tête d'Athéna est tout à fait identique à celle du triobole du Musée Hunter, décrit plus haut p. 172, n. 2, et qui me paraît avoir été émis par Hippias, entre 514 et 511, en signe de symmachie avec

<sup>54</sup> Scymn. *Périègèse*, v. 698—711.

<sup>55</sup> Hérodote, VI, 84—88.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* VI, 108.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* VI, 89. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II, 1895, p. 375.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 187; Noeldeke, *Aufz. z. Persische Gesch.*, 1887, p. 35.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* VI, 40.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* VI, 41 et 104.

<sup>61</sup> Scymn. *Périègèse*, v. 699, 700.

Sparte.<sup>62</sup> Le profil est aussi le même que celui de la déesse à double face de l'autre monnaie, *ibid.* n. 1, qui date de son alliance avec le tyran de Lampsaque, 513 (P)

Comme Miltiadès dépendait des Pisistratides, il n'aura pas battu monnaie tant que Hippias régnait à Athènes; le statère, n. 1, n'aura donc été émis qu'après 511, peut-être pour pourvoir à la solde des cinq cents mercenaires qui formaient sa garde.<sup>63</sup>

Les statères, n. 5, sont de beaucoup plus récents et conviennent mieux aux dernières années, avant 493, qu'il résida en Chersonèse.

La tête d'Athéna est celle des décadrachmes et des didrachmes d'Athènes,<sup>64</sup> mais sans les feuilles d'olivier dont le casque est couronné en 490. Les lions, des n. 1 et 5, sont en apparence identiques, mais en les examinant de près, on constate une légère différence dans le traitement de la crinière et du cou, qui permet de classer au n. 5 les drachmes et autres fractions, n. 6—9, au protome du même lion et au n. 1, les drachmes, n. 2—4, au type d'une tête de lion de même style que le tétradrachme.

Sur ces dernières drachmes le carré creux devient de plus en plus régulier et prend alors la forme particulière à la Chersonèse.

L'œil du lion d'abord rond, s'élargit et devient oval.

Ces différences montrent que l'émission de ces drachmes a été continuée pendant plusieurs années; je voudrais les dater d'entre 510 et 490.

<sup>62</sup> Comp. les tétradrachmes à la même tête, *Cat. Brit. Mus., Attica*, Pl. I, 7, II, 3, 5, et celui de ma coll.: Tête du n. 7, Pl. I. *Rev.* du n. 5, Pl. II, avec ΑΘΕ.

<sup>63</sup> Hérodote, VI, 89. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσονήσον, πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους.

<sup>64</sup> *Cat. Attica*, Pl. III, 1, IV, 4.

S'il fallait s'en tenir aux dates adoptées par M. Head pour Athènes, les monnaies de Cardia seraient à classer à Stésagoras et même en partie au premier Miltiadès et il n'en resterait pas pour le fils de Cimon. Mais, comme M. Head a reconnu lui-même que les statères, n. 5, sont postérieurs à 500, il n'est pas nécessaire de montrer plus amplement combien les dates proposées plus haut pour les monnaies d'Athènes sont confirmées par celles de Cardia sous Miltiadès.

Aussi je me borne à remarquer que le lion des dernières pièces, n. 5—9, est de même style que le lion couché, qui retourne la tête, sur les dernières monnaies, en or pale, émises à Milet avant la destruction de la ville par les Perses, en 494.<sup>65</sup>

Une tête d'Athéna, antérieure à celle des monnaies d'Athènes, est donnée par les statères euboïques de Mathymna.<sup>66</sup> Le casque est d'une forme plus archaïque et les cheveux ne sont pas relevés, mais pendent droits sur la nuque. Comme Lesbos était au pouvoir de Polycrate,<sup>67</sup> ces statères autonomes seront postérieurs à la mort du tyran, 523, et, à en juger par le ⊕ de la légende, probablement antérieurs à 513(?), quand Coès, le stratège des Mytilénéens, devint tyran de la ville par la faveur du roi de Perse.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Cat. Brit. Mus. Ionia*, Pl. III, 6. Un exemplaire de ma collection, *Cat. Ivanoff*, n. 264 [Pl. VII, No. 10], est antérieur et contemporain du statère, n. 1, de Cardia. J'en avais conclu, à tort, autrefois, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.*, III, 1876, p. 378, que les drachmes de Cardia, n. 2—4, étaient de Milet. Le carré creux particulier au Chersonèse des n. 4 s'oppose à cette attribution.

<sup>66</sup> 8 gr. 55 ; *Cat. Brit. Mus. Troas*, Pl. XXXVI, 6, 7 ; *Num. Chron.*, 1892, Pl. III, 4 ; 1893, Pl. VII, 15.

<sup>67</sup> Hérodote, III, 39. *συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων αἰρήκεε* (Πολυκράτης), *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄσπεα, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους—ναυμαχίῃ κρατήσας εἶλε, etc.*

<sup>68</sup> Hérodote, IV, 37, V, 11, 37, 38.

Les drachmes euboïques,<sup>69</sup> au type de l'hoplite grec et au revers du cavalier, trouvées avec les statères de Mathymna, auront été frappées lors des préparatifs pour l'expédition de Darius contre les Scythes, à laquelle les Lesbiens prirent part, 515/4 env.,<sup>70</sup> et peuvent nous montrer comment Coès, le stratège de Mytilène, était équipé en guerre.

### XXXII.—TARSE ET ADANA.

Fin du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle.

1. Le roi de Cilicie à cheval, au pas, à gauche, tenant de la main gauche les rênes et de la droite une fleur; dessous *tête d'aigle* à g. et  $\sim$  (?) ?; grènetis au pourtour. (A l'exergue  $\sim$  4 1 (1 1) d'après un autre exemplaire sans tête d'aigle.)

Rev.—Le même roi agenouillé à droite, le carquois au dos et tirant de l'arc; derrière lui  $\Phi$  et devant lui *tête d'aigle* à dr. Carré creux limité par un grènetis. Surfrappé sur un statère de Soli?

R 5. — *Catal. Gosselin*, n. 160; *Mion.* III, p. 666, n. 660. Lajard, *Culte de Vénus*, Pl. I, 5; Luynes, *Satrap.* p. 64, Pl. XII.

2. Protome de pégase, à gauche; au-dessus *tête d'aigle*; grènetis au pourtour.

Rev.—Même revers.

R 2½. 8,50. Coll. Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.*, p. 370, 66, Pl. G, 7.

3,26. *Catal. Walcher de Moltheim*, 1895, n. 3120, Pl. XXIX.

8,18. *Brit. Mus., Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 155, 9.

*Sous Mazaïos.*

3. Tête imberbe de Triptolème,<sup>71</sup> couronnée d'épis, à gauche; grènetis au pourtour.

<sup>69</sup> 2 gr. 92, ma coll.; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Troas*, Pl. XXXVI, 9; *Num. Chron.*, 1884, Pl. V, 2; 1892, Pl. III, 5.

<sup>70</sup> Hérodote, IV, 97, cf. 188.

<sup>71</sup> Strabon, XIV, 5, p. 673. Ἡ δὲ Ταρσὸς κείται μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ, κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν μετὰ Τριπτολέμου πλαγὴθέντων Ἀργείων κατὰ

*Rev.*—*Aigle*, les ailes éployées, debout à gauche sur un lion courant à gauche ; carré creux limité par un grènetis.

AR 1½. 0,82. Cab. de France, Babelon, *Perses achém.*, n. 218, Pl. V, 8.

0,67. Coll. Imhoof, *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 108, 18.

*Massue* dans le champ du revers.

0,75. Coll. Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.*, p. 375, n. 78, Pl. G, 16.

4. *Zeus* assis à gauche sur un siège, tenant de la main droite un épi et une grappe de raisin et s'appuyant de la gauche sur son sceptre ; grènetis.

*Rev.*—*Aigle*, les ailes éployées, debout à gauche sur un soc de charrue : carré de grènetis.

AR 2. 0,90—0,74. *Num. Chron.*, l. c., p. 108, 14 ; Imhoof, l. c., p. 375, n. 78<sup>a</sup> ; Babelon, l. c., n. 227—229, Pl. V, 18.

5. Tête imberbe d'*Héraclès* de face, coiffée de la peau de lion ; grènetis.

*Rev.*—*Aigle*, les ailes closes, debout à gauche sur une tête de cerf à haute ramure ; carré de grènetis.

AR 1½. 0,68. Coll. Imhoof.

0,48. Cab. de France, Babelon, l. c., n. 212, Pl. V, 7 ; *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 108, 12.

6. *Zeus* assis à droite sur un siège, tenant de la main droite le sceptre et sur la gauche un *aigle*, à g., les ailes éployées. Cercle au pourtour.

*Rev.*—Tête d'*Athéna*, à droite, coiffée du casque athénien à cimier et orné d'une volute et de trois feuilles d'olivier.

AR 1½. 0,80. *Catal. Behr.*, n. 686 ; Brandis, *Muenzw.*, p. 500.

0,75. Cab. de Gotha, Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.*, p. 371, 71, Pl. G, 12.

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ζήτησιν Ἰοῦς. XVI, 2, p. 750. Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν (Triptolème) ὑπ' Ἀργείων πεμφθέντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰοῦς ζήτησιν—πλανᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τινὰς Ἀργείων κτίσαι τὴν Ταρσὸν, etc.

0,75 ; 0,71 troués. Ma coll. ; *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 103, 1.

7. *Zeus Tersios*<sup>72</sup> assis, à gauche, sur un siège, le buste et la tête laurée tournés *en face*, portant sur la main droite un *aigle*, à dr., les ailes closes et s'appuyant de la gauche sur le sceptre ; derrière lui 𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 (בעלתר) ; dans le champ une lettre phénicienne. Grénétis au pourtour.

*Rev.*—𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 (מור), lion dévorant un taureau courant à gauche ; dessous 𐤕𐤕 (סס) ; cercle au pourtour.

Æ 6. 11,10—10,59. *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 112, 23 ; Luynes, *Satrap.* Pl. IV, 4, 5.

*Epoque des Séleucides.*

8. Tête tourellée de la ville d'Adana, à droite ; grénétis au pourtour.

*Rev.*—ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ. *Aigle*, les ailes closes, debout à gauche sur un *épi* couché à g. ; dans le champ monogramme.

Æ 4. — Combe, *Mus. Brit.*, p. 136, 2, T. X, 15 ; Mion., S. VII, p. 191, n. 176.

Autre, avec IE. Coll. Imhoof.

Un aigle, pareil à celui du n. 5 et du bronze d'Adana, n. 8, est perché sur la main droite de Zeus Tersios, soit seul, n. 7, soit au-dessus de l'épi et de la grappe de raisin que le dieu tient à la main,<sup>73</sup> sur les statères de Mazaïos,

<sup>72</sup> Si j'écris Zeus Tersios au-lieu de Baaltars, c'est que le fragment de la théogonie cilicienne, conservé par Etienne de Byzance, v. Ἀδανα, me fait soupçonner que les noms des dieux ciliciens ne différeraient, à l'origine, pas trop de ceux des Grecs, quelques noms barbares exceptés et que ce n'est qu'avec l'introduction de la langue et de l'écriture araméenne (par les Perses ?), qu'on a commencé à traduire ces noms et à écrire 𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 pour Uranos et בעלתר pour Zeus Tersios. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg., 867. διὸ καὶ τὴν πᾶσιν Τερσίαν τότε κληθῆναι—ἕστερον δὲ Ταρσὸν. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησὶ τὴν κληθῆσιν τῇ πόλει εἶναι ἀπὸ Διὸς Τερσίου τοῖς ἐκεῖ καλουμένοις. Οἱ δὲ φασὶ Τερσὸν τὰ πρῶτα—ὀνομασθῆναι, etc. Steph. Byz. v. Ταρσός.

<sup>73</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 109, 12 ; p. 111, 22, Pl. V, 13, 14 ; Luynes, *Satrap.* Pl. IV, 1—3, 6 ; V, 7, 8 ; VIII, 9, 10 ; IX, 11, 12 ; Babelon, *Pers. achém.*, Pl. V, 9—11.

quand Zeus tourne la tête de *face* et qu'au revers se voit le groupe du taureau terrassé par un lion, que les statères autonomes de Tarse,<sup>74</sup> démontrent avoir été le type particulier de la ville.

Par contre, cet aigle ne se voit pas sur les statères de Mazaïos au type de Tarse, quand la tête de Zeus est en *profil*, ni sur ceux dont le revers porte le groupe d'un cerf terrassé par le lion, accompagné souvent d'un  $\Sigma$ , et sous le siège de Zeus, d'une croix ansée,  $\Phi$ .<sup>75</sup>

C'est ce qui me fait croire que ce dernier type, différent de celui de Tarse, est peut-être celui de la partie orientale du royaume, où était située Mallos, à laquelle cet  $\Sigma$ , initiale de מללו (MAPAO), convient aussi bien que la croix ansée, qui se voit si souvent sur les monnaies de Mallos, au type du cygne.<sup>76</sup>

Il ne me semble pas improbable que cet aigle, qui ne paraît que sur une seule série au type de Tarse, celle à la tête de Zeus de *face*,<sup>77</sup> est le symbole d'une autre ville, voisine de la capitale et dans ce cas, ce ne peut être qu'Adana, dont le bronze, n. 8, d'époque postérieure, présente le même aigle comme type du revers.

Les divisions, douzièmes de statère, n. 3—5, au type

<sup>74</sup> *Num. Chron.*, l. c., p. 156, 13; Babelon, l. c., Pl. III, 5.

<sup>75</sup> *Num. Chron.*, l. c., p. 105—107, n. 6, 7, 9, 10; Luynes, l. c., Pl. VIII, 8—6; Babelon, l. c., Pl. V, 1—5.

<sup>76</sup> Imhoof, *Annuaire Soc. Fr. de Num.*, 1883, p. 106, 26—32, 34, Pl. V, 18, 19, 21.

<sup>77</sup> Et, en outre, les ailes éployées, sur le sceptre de Zeus des statères de Datame (?), frappés à Tarse, *Num. Chron.*, l. c., p. 103—105, n. 3, 4; Babelon, l. c., Pl. IV, 15—20; puis, les ailes closes, sur le sceptre de Zeus d'un statère de Mazaïos, Luynes, *Satrap.* Pl. IV, 3 et ma coll., *Num. Chron.*, l. c., p. 130, 12; et perché sur le thymiaterion devant Zeus, sur quelques statères de Mazaïos au lion, Luynes, l. c., Pl. IX, 14; *Num. Chron.*, l. c., p. 132, 13.



de l'aigle perché sur un lion, un soc de charrue ou une tête de cerf, conviendraient tout aussi bien à Adana, que le bronze, n. 8, où l'aigle est debout sur un épi. L'analogie est du-moins complète.

Cependant je ne propose pas d'attribuer toutes ces pièces à Adana plutôt qu'à Tarse ; il est fort probable que, sous Mazaïos, l'atelier de la capitale suffisait à l'émission des diverses séries, variées selon les districts du royaume auxquels elles étaient destinées et marquées des symboles et des lettres des villes principales, l'épi de Tarse, la grappe de raisin de Soli, la croix ansée de Mallos, l'aigle d'Adana, etc.

De même, sur le statère et la drachme de Tarse, n. 1, 2, la tête d'aigle ne se voit que sur quelques exemplaires, tandis qu'elle est absente sur d'autres.<sup>78</sup>

La tête de Triptolème, n. 3, revient sur les bronzes de Mallos,<sup>79</sup> et le soc de charrue, n. 4, rappelle le laboureur (Triptolème), au revers d'un statère de la même ville ;<sup>80</sup> mais on sait que Mallos et Tarse ont parfois battu monnaie au même type d'Hercule étouffant le lion ou d'Athéna assise.<sup>81</sup> Il n'est donc pas toujours possible de fixer d'après les types seuls, le lieu d'émission de chacune des petites pièces anépigraphes de la Cilicie.

Aussi mon seul but, pour le moment, n'était que de montrer que, si Adana a eu, au 5<sup>e</sup> et 4<sup>e</sup> siècles, un type qui lui fut particulier, ce doit avoir été, bien probablement, un aigle, et spécialement un aigle aux ailes closes. L'aigle aux ailes éployées pourrait être revendiqué par

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<sup>78</sup> *Num. Chron.*, l. c., p. 154, 8, 9.

<sup>79</sup> Imhoof, *Annuaire*, l. c., p. 111, 46, Pl. VI, 31 ; coll. Weber.

<sup>80</sup> Imhoof, *Numism. Zeitschr.*, XVI, 1884, p. 282, 124.

<sup>81</sup> *Num. Chron.*, l. c., p. 135 et 156.

Issos, où on le voit sur la main de Zeus des statères de Tiribaze.<sup>82</sup>

### XXXIII.—MAGARSOS ET MALLOS.

Milieu du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle.

1. *Bélier* marchant à gauche ; devant lui **F**<sup>83</sup> ; grénétis au pourtour.

*Rev.*—*Rosace*, ☼ ; au-dessus *dauphin* à gauche et *croissant de lune* ; carré creux limité par un grénétis.

AR 4. 10,60. Ma coll. [Pl. VII, No. 16], *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, VI, 1879, p. 80, 7, T. III, 7.  
7,06 fruste. Cab. de France ; Pellerin, *Rec.* III, p. 77, Pl. 101, 9 ; Mion. III, p. 676, n. 44, S. VII, p. 19, n. 75 ; *Rec. d. Pl.* LVI, 5, p. 31 ; Luynes, *Numism. Cypr.*, p. 37, Pl. VII, 7.

2. Même *bélier* ; devant **F** ; au-dessus *croix ansée* ; +O.

*Rev.*—*Massue* et *rameau d'olivier* en sautoir ; carré creux limité par un grénétis.

AR 5/3. 10,83. Ma coll. [Pl. VII, No. 17], Mion., III, p. 663, n. 650 (*Tôchon*) ; *Catal. Montigny*, n. 223.

*Sous Mazaïos.*

3. *Zeus Tersios* assis, à gauche, sur un siège, tenant de la main droite un épi et une grappe de raisin et s'appuyant de la gauche sur un sceptre ; à droite יחלל (בעלתר) ; sous le siège, tête à droite d'*Athéna*, coiffée du casque athénien à cimier.

*Rev.*—יחלל (מזרי). Lion dévorant un cerf, en course à gauche ; dans le champ **Q** ; carré creux.

AR 6. 10,82. *Brit. Mus.* ; *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 106, 6.

<sup>82</sup> Babelon, l. c., Pl. III, 16—18.

<sup>83</sup> Cette lettre, dont les restes se voyent aussi sur le n. 2, ne semble ni grecque ni araméenne ; à moins que ce ne soit un **F** grec de forme archaïque. Dans ce cas on pourrait songer à le considérer comme l'initiale de *Fáyasssa*, titre qui conviendrait tout aussi bien à l'*Athéna Magarsis* qu'à l'*Artémis* de Perga, dont les monnaies portent le nom de la déesse comme légende.



*Rev.*—Même buste d'*Athéna Magarsis*; grènetis. Fabrique barbare.

AR 6. 9,52. Cab. de France, Babelon, *l. c.*, n. 256, Pl. VI, 15; comp. *Catal. Subhi Facha*, 1878, n. 278.

*Sous Alexandre le Grand.*

9. Zeus assis, à gauche, sur un siège, s'appuyant de la main droite sur le sceptre; devant lui épi et grappe de raisin; sous le siège les initiales  $\Sigma$ ,  $\Xi$ ; T, T; I, I; M, MA de Soli, Tarsos, Issos et Mallos; dans le champ à droite souvent B(ασιλέως), parfois épi (Tarsos), casque corinthien à cimier (Soli), ou feuille de lierre (Nagidos?).

*Rev.*—Même buste d'*Athéna Magarsis*; grènetis au pourtour. Dans le champ parfois I— $\Sigma$  (Issos), casque corinthien à cimier (Soli), ou grappe de raisin avec T(arsos) ou M(allos).

AR 6. 11,03—10,21. *Num. Chron.*, *l. c.*, p. 127—129, 8; Babelon, *l. c.*, n. 245—255, Pl. VI, 1—4.

# DEMETRIUS II, ROI DE SYRIE, 146—125.

10. Tête imberbe diadémée à droite de *Démétrius*; derrière lui MAA ou M; cordonnnet de laine au pourtour.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Statue d'*Athéna Magarsis* de face, sur une base, coiffée du casque athénien à triple cimier et tenant de la main droite un long sceptre orné de ténies; des deux côtés de sa robe un rang de chevrons, qui semblent parfois des têtes de serpents.

Au-dessus des épaules deux rosaces, ☼, pareilles à celles du statère, n. 1; dans le champ monogrammes.

AR 9. 16,—. Haym, *Tesoro Brit.*, I, p. 70; Duane, *Coins of the Seleuc.* Pl. XIV, 1, 2; Mion. S., VIII, p. 44, n. 223; Brit. Mus. Cat., *Kings of Syria*, p. 59, n. 17, Pl. XVIII, 1; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, n. 929, Pl. XIX, 1; Mion. V, p. 58, n. 500, S. VIII, Pl. XIII, 1; Imhoof, *Annuaire Soc. Fr. de Num.*, 1883, p. 114, 50, 51, Pl. VI, 33.

11. Tête barbue diadémée de *Démétrius*.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ**. Même type ; dans le champ monogramme.

Æ 8. 3,69. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Kings of Syria*, p. 77, n. 21, Pl. XXI, 5 ; Imhoof, *l. c.*, n. 52, Pl. VI, 34.

## 12. Tête voilée et tourellée de la ville de Mallos, à droite.

Rev.—**ΜΑΛΛΩΤΩΝ**, même type ; dans le champ **ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ** en monogramme.

Æ 5. — Imhoof, *Numism. Zeitschr.* XVI, 1884, p. 284, n. 128, T. V, 20.

La statue d'Athéna Magarsis se voit encore sur des bronzes de Mallos émis sous Antonin le Pieux et Herennia Etruscilla, publiés par M. Imhoof, *Annuaire*, *l. c.* p. 117, n. 58, Pl. VI, 37 et p. 119, n. 63, Pl. VI, 40.

Il ne serait pas facile de trouver le lieu d'émission des statères, n. 1 et 2, au type du bélier, si la *croix ansée*, du n. 2, ne nous induisait à le chercher dans la partie orientale de la Cilicie. Là, en effet, ce symbole se rencontre parfois à Soli,<sup>84</sup> et à Tarsos,<sup>85</sup> mais le plus souvent à Mallos,<sup>86</sup> tandis que je ne l'ai pas remarqué à l'ouest de Soli et qu'à Tarse il affecte en règle une autre forme,  $\varrho$ <sup>87</sup>, à Issos  $\frac{\circ}{\pi}$ .<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Dans le champ du statère au type de l'archer, Babelon, *Pers. achém.*, Pl. III, 18, et sur d'autres exemplaires vus par M. Imhoof.

<sup>85</sup> Babelon, *l. c.*, Pl. III, 1, devant le satrape, et sur le statère de Mazaïos, n. 228, au type de Tarse.

<sup>86</sup> Sur les monnaies au revers du cygne.

<sup>87</sup> Babelon, *l. c.*, Pl. III, 1, au revers ; *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 154, 155, n. 6, 8, 10, 11. L. Müller, *Gammelt persisk Symbol*, 1865, Pl. n. 1—5.

<sup>88</sup> Luynes, *Satrap.* Pl. I, II ; Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.*, p. 355, Pl. F, 21.

C'est donc dans le voisinage de Mallos, du côté de Tarsos et Soli, qu'il faut chercher une ville, située au bord de la mer, comme le *dauphin*,<sup>89</sup> du n. 1, l'exige, à laquelle ces statères puissent être classés avec quelque vraisemblance. Or cette ville est donnée par la *rosace*, qui forme le type central du revers sur le statère; n. 1, et qui se voit en double au-dessus des épaules de la statue d'Athéna Magarsis, sur les monnaies frappées à Mallos sous Démétrius II, comme le symbole de cette déesse.

C'est donc Magarsos, ville située à l'embouchure du Pyramos, non loin de Mallos,<sup>90</sup> dont elle paraît avoir si bien dépendue qu'on n'a pas retrouvé jusqu'ici de monnaies à son nom et que je n'oserais presque pas lui attribuer les statères au bélier, si ces pièces ne dataient, d'après leur style et leurs flans globuleux, du milieu du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle, quand la symmachie athénienne avait atteint son plus grand développement, entre 466 et 449, et faisait si bien valoir son influence sur toute la côte d'Asie mineure, que même une ville de Phénicie, Doros, figurait sur la liste des tributaires.<sup>91</sup>

Alors Magarsos peut avoir été autonome pendant quelque temps et avoir battu monnaie pour le commerce avec les grecs.

Cela est d'autant plus probable qu'à Mallos les mon-

<sup>89</sup> Un dauphin se voit comme symbole dans le champ d'un statère de Mallos, au cygne, Imhoof, *Annuaire*, l. c., Pl. V, 19.

<sup>90</sup> Les textes relatifs à Magarsos ont été réunis par M. Imhoof, *Annuaire*, l. c., p. 90—98. Steph. Byz. Μάγαρος, μέγιστος ὄχθος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς τῇ Μαλλῷ—καὶ Μαγαροσία Ἀθηνᾶ ἐκεῖ ἱδρύται. Strabon, XIV, 5, 16, p. 675. τὸν γὰρ Μόψον φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀμφίλοχον—κτίσαι Μαλλόν—καὶ νῦν οἱ τάφοι δείκνυνται περὶ Μάγαρσα τοῦ Πυράμου πλησίον.

<sup>91</sup> Steph. Byz. v. Δῶρος· Κρατερὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ψηφισμάτων-τρίτῳ, “Καρικὸς φόρος· Δῶρος, Φασηλίται.”

naies de même époque et de même forme font presque défaut : je n'en ai trouvé qu'une seule pour combler cette lacune.<sup>92</sup>

Magarsos était célèbre par son temple d'Athéna Magarsis.

Aussi Alexandre en passant avec son armée de Soli à Mallos, s'arrêta-t-il à Magarsos pour offrir un sacrifice à la déesse avant de rendre hommage à Amphiloque, le fondateur de Mallos.<sup>93</sup>

C'est de cette visite d'Alexandre et de ce sacrifice solennel à Athéna que semblent dater les nombreux statères, n. 9, qui portent au revers le buste de la déesse, coiffée du casque à triple cimier, pareil à celui de la statue des monnaies de Mallos sous Démétrius II, et, au droit, Zeus assis sur un siège, emprunté aux monnaies de Mazaïos, et que les lettres et les symboles démontrent avoir été émis par les villes confédérées de la Cilicie campestre, Soli, Tarsos, Issos et Mallos, après la chute de l'empire des Perses. Le lieu d'émission aura été soit Magarsos, soit plus probablement Mallos.<sup>94</sup> Le style en est meilleur que celui des statères environ contemporains de Tarse, qui ont au droit le Zeus Tersios et au revers le groupe du lion dévorant un taureau au-dessus d'une double muraille fortifiée et qui sont marqués des mêmes lettres initiales de Soli, Tarsos, Issos et Mallos<sup>95</sup> et du

<sup>92</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 325.

<sup>93</sup> Arrien, *Anab.* II, 5. αὐτὸς (Ἀλέξανδρος) ἐς Μαγαρσὸν ἦκε καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Μαγαρσίδι εὐχασεν· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς Μαλλὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον ὅσα ἥρωι ἐνήγισε.

<sup>94</sup> M. Babelon semble croire, *Pers. achém.* p. xlvi, que les lettres initiales désignent les ateliers des quatre villes qui se combinèrent pour cette émission. Je pense, au contraire, que ces statères proviennent tous d'un seul atelier.


<sup>95</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 129, 11, Pl. VI, 2; Laynes, *Satrap.* Pl. VIII, 7, 8; Babelon, *l. c.*, n. 242—244, Pl. V, 21.

même B(ασιλέως). Aussi cette dernière série, beaucoup plus rare, a peut-être précédé celle de Mallos.

L'attribution des statères au *bélier*, n. 1, 2, à une ville de Cilicie est confirmée par les statères de Mazaïos, n. 4, où le lieu d'émission semble indiqué par une *tête de bélier* sous le siège de Zeus.

Enfin, la *massue*, au revers du n. 2, engage à classer à la même ville, l'obole, n. 6, qui réunit le buste d'*Hercule* à une double tête casquée d'*Athéna Magarsis* (?).

XXXIV.—CILICIE. AEGEAE,<sup>96</sup> 440—430 ENV.

1. *Bouquetin* courant à gauche, en retournant la tête ; au-dessus  (ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲓ ou ⲙⲁⲣⲁ) ; grènetis au pourtour.

Rev.—*Chouette* de face, les ailes éployées ; carré creux à angles arrondis.

Æ 4½. — Mus. Hunter,<sup>97</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1885, p. 31.

2. Autre, même légende, mais en lettres moins bien formées.

Æ 4. 10,68. *Brit. Mus.* [Pl. VII, No. 18], Combe, *Mus. Brit.*, p. 248, 12, T. XIII, 14 ; Babelon, *Pers. achémén.*, p. lxi, *vign.*

3. *Bouquetin* ailé, courant à gauche, en retournant la tête ; sur sa croupe un oiseau becquetant, à g., les ailes éployées ; grènetis au pourtour.

Rev.—*Chouette* de face entre deux croix ansées, ♀ ; aire creuse.

Æ 5. 10,77. *Brit. Mus.*, *Num. Chron.* 1891, p. 188, Pl. IV, 20 ; Babelon, *l. c.*, *vign.*

<sup>96</sup> Leake a remarqué, *Num. Hell., Asia*, p. 4, que d'après la légende ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ le nom de la ville était *Alyéai*, contracté plus tard en *Alyai*, cp. Pausan. V, 21, 11, ἐς Αλγίας (de Cilicie).

<sup>97</sup> Par suite d'une erreur involontaire de ma part l'exemplaire du Mus. Hunter a dû être remplacé (Pl. VII. n. 18) par celui du *Brit. Mus.*



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4. Tête d'*Athéna*, à droite, coiffée du casque athénien à cimier, orné d'une volute et de trois feuilles d'olivier.

*Rev.*—*Chouette*, à droite, la tête de face ; à gauche, pousse d'olivier et croissant, à droite ΑΙΓΕΛΩΝ.

Æ 6. 16,86. *Brit. Mus., Num. Chron.*, 1880, p. 192, Pl. X, 5 ; *Catal. Attica*, p. 26, n. 271, Pl. VII, 6 ; *Babelon, l. c.*, p. lxxij, vign.

117 après J.-C.

5. . . . . KAIE ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ Σεβ.  
Buste lauré d'*Hadrien* à droite, l'épaule gauche drapée.

*Rev.*—ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ — ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΞΡ (164 = 117).  
Tête imberbe et diadémée d'*Alexandre le grand* (?), à droite ; dessous bouc couché à gauche et retournant la tête.

Æ 6. 10,40 troué. Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.*, p. 348, n. 7.

Comme l'a remarqué M. Head, les statères au type du bouquetin, n. 1—3, que j'avais erronément classés à Amisos, avant de connaître le n. 3, doivent être restitués à la Cilicie, d'après le poids, les types et la légende araméenne.<sup>88</sup>

Aussi je ne m'explique pas comment M. Babelon a pu proposer de les placer à Gaza,<sup>89</sup> sans tenir compte du poids, qui ne convient pas à cette ville, ni de la forme des lettres sur le bel exemplaire du Musée Hunter—qu'il

<sup>88</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 184.

<sup>89</sup> *Perses achém.*, p. lxxii. Dans le fragment d'Hécatée, Steph. Byz. v. Αἰγά.—ἔστι καὶ πόλις Φοινίκων, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος, il n'est pas question d'une ville de Phénicie, ce qu'Etienne de Byzance nomme πόλις Φοινίκης, mais d'une ville habitée par des Phéniciens et située en dehors de la Phénicie. Ainsi : Λίβρις, πόλις Φοινίκων.—Ἐκαταῖος, περιγῆσει Αἰγύπτου, et Φοινικοῦσαι.—ἔστι καὶ πόλις Φοινίκων τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ Φοινικοῦσαι, ὡς αὐτὸς (Ἐκαταῖος) ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, mais : Δῶρος, πόλις Φοινίκης Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ ; Γάβαλα, π. Φ.—Ἐκαταῖος ; Γεγγλυμῶτη, Φ. π., ὡς Ἐκαταῖος ; Σίδων, π. Φ. Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ ; Γάζα, πόλις Φοινίκης, νῦν δὲ Παλαιστίνη.

ne mentionne même pas—exactement pareilles à celles de l'inscription cilicienne rupestre de Saraïdin, sur le haut Lamos, au nord de Séleucie, et publiée par M. Noeldeke,<sup>100</sup> ni, enfin, de la croix ansée, qui ne se rencontre pas en Palestine, mais d'autant plus souvent à Mallos et villes voisines, comme je l'ai remarqué plus haut.

Par contre, M. Babelon a parfaitement raison, ce me semble, de considérer le bouquetin comme un type parlant et spécialement comme celui d'une ville du nom d'Aegae. Mais cette Aegae n'est autre que celle de Cilicie, comme l'indique la forme de la croix ansée qui est celle de ce symbole à Mallos.

L'attribution est confirmée par l'oiseau becquetant le dos du bouquetin exactement comme le fait le même oiseau sur le dos du cygne d'un statère contemporain de Mallos,<sup>101</sup> où la figure ailée du droit fait pendant au bouquetin ailé du statère d'Aegae.

La légende ארד (ou ארד), tracée en beaux caractères, très réguliers, donne apparemment le nom d'un dynaste qui aura régné temporairement à Aegae, sous l'influence d'Athènes, dont il adopte la chouette, dans la seconde moitié du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>102</sup> entre l'époque où furent émis les statères de Magarsos, au bélier, et celle où commence à Mallos la série des statères de beau style, au cygne; ארד n'est qu'une autre forme pour ארד, nom propre hébreu, qui se lit 1 Chron. 7, 38, et que les LXX rendent par 'Αρά.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, VII, 1892, p. 350.

<sup>101</sup> Imhoof, *Annuaire*, 1888, pl. V, 14.

<sup>102</sup> Plus d'un demi-siècle avant Mazaïos. Le légende ne peut donc être une altération de son nom, comme les lettres du n. 2 l'ont fait supposer à M. Babelon.

<sup>103</sup> ארד, s'il fallait lire ארד, est un nom d'homme donné par l'inscr. de Carthage, *Corp. Inscr. Semit.*, I, n. 426.

A Aegeae revient aussi, à mon avis,<sup>104</sup> le tétradrachme à types athéniens, n. 4, qui datera de la lutte des Perses contre Alexandre—quand les tétradrachmes d'Athènes commencent à faire défaut—et que les soldats d'Alexandre auront porté en Inde, où il a été trouvé.

Sur les monnaies connues d'Aegeae, le type de la chèvre ou du bouc, couché ou debout, est fréquent.<sup>105</sup> Je n'en ai décrit qu'une seule, n. 5, dont le poids est le même que celui des anciens statères et où le bouc est figuré de la même manière, la tête retournée.

### XXXV.—CYRRHÉSTIQUE. SOCHA, 333.

1. *Galère* phénicienne, avec un rang de rameurs, voguant, à gauche, sur les flots ; au-dessus  $\text{𐤂𐤍𐤁𐤁}$  (𐤁𐤍𐤁) ; à l'exergue  $\text{𐤂}$  (w). Grénétis au pourtour.

*Rev.*—Le roi de Perse, Darius III, coiffé d'une tiare dentelée et vêtu de la candys, debout à droite et luttant, le poignard à la main, contre un lion qui se dresse devant lui en rugissant. Dans le champ, un *cog*, à gauche.

AR 1½. 0,70. Coll. de Luynes ; Babelon, *Pers. achém.*, p. 39, n. 275, Pl. VI, 16, p. xlviii.

2. Même galère ; sans légende.

*Rev.*—Même type, dans le champ  $\text{𐤂𐤍𐤁𐤁}$  (𐤁𐤍𐤁?).

AR 1½. 0,41. Cab. de France, *l. c.*, n. 276.

3. Tête d'*Athéna*, à droite, coiffée du casque athénien à cimier, orné d'une volute et de trois feuilles d'olivier et parée de boucles d'oreilles rondes et d'un collier.

<sup>104</sup> Voir le paragraphe suivant.

<sup>105</sup> Combe, *Mus. Brit.*, p. 185, n. 3, 4, T. X, 13 ; Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.*, p. 348, n. 6 ; Mion. III, p. 539, 10—13 ; *S.*, VII, p. 152, n. 9, 10 ; Leake, *Asia*, p. 4 ; &c.

*Rev.*—*Chouette* debout, à droite, regardant de face; à gauche, pousse d'olivier et croissant; à droite croissant au-dessus d'un foudre et  $\Upsilon\lambda\tau\Upsilon$  ou  $\Upsilon\lambda\tau\Upsilon$  ( $\tau\iota\varsigma$ ). [PL VII, No. 19.]

Æ 7. 17,20—15,00. *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 132, 133, n. 27; 1877, p. 223, n. 14; Beulé, *Monn. d'Athènes*, p. 45 vign.; Babelon, *l. c.*, n. 322, Pl. VIII, 5, p. lix; *Brit. Mus., Cat. Attica*, Pl. VII, 1.

4. Autre, la légende en caractères mal formés, et, au lieu de la pousse d'olivier, un mot de trois lettres peu distinctes.

Æ 5½. 16,27. *Num. Chron.*, 1888, *l. c.*, n. 28, 29; *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XV, p. 14, vign.

148.

5. Tête diadémée du roi de Syrie, *Alexandre I* (Bala), à droite; bandelette de laine au pourtour.

*Rev.*— $\text{ΚΥΡΡΗΣΤΩΝ}$ . *Zeus* debout de face, tenant une couronne dans la main droite étendue; à ses pieds *chouette*; dans le champ monogrammes et la date  $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$  (164 = 148 av. J.-C.).

Æ 5, 4. 6,80. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, n. 901—906, Pl. XVIII, 12; *Mion.* V, p. 54, n. 477, 478, p. 184, n. 1; Duane, *Coins of the Seleuc.* Pl. XI, 11, 12; *Brit. Mus., Cat. Kings of Syria*, p. 56, n. 59, 60, Pl. XVI, 14; Leake, *Asia*, p. 49.

6. Même tête; grènetis au pourtour.

*Rev.*— $\text{ΚΥΡΡΗΣΤΩΝ}$ . *Athéna Cyrrhēstis* debout à gauche, casquée et tenant de la main droite la Victoire et de la gauche la haste et le bouclier; dans le champ monogrammes et  $\Delta\Xi\text{P}$ .

Æ 3. 4,50. Babelon, *l. c.*, n. 907, 908, Pl. XVIII, 13; *Mion.* V, n. 479; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, n. 61, 62, Pl. XVI, 15.

7. Même droit.

*Rev.*— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ}$ . *Chouette* à droite; monogramme.

Æ 3 dentelé. 4,00. Babelon, *l. c.*, n. 847, 848, Pl. XVII,

19 ; Mion., V, n. 465, 466 ; Duane, l. c., Pl. XII, 2 ; Brit. Mus. Cat., p. 55, n. 39—42, Pl. XVI, 8.

8. Tête laurée de Zeus, à droite.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.** *Athéna Cyrrhensis* (?) debout à gauche, casquée et tenant de la main droite la *chouette* et de la gauche la haste et le bouclier ; le tout dans une couronne de laurier.

Æ 6. — Brit. Mus. Cat., n. 55, Pl. XVI, 12.

9. Comp. Tête laurée de Trajan, à droite. Légende.

Rev.—**ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΡΗΤΩΝ.** Zeus assis, à gauche, sur un rocher.

Æ 6½. — Mion. V., p. 184, n. 5 ; Leake, *Asia*, p. 49,

et les bronzes, au même type, des empereurs suivants, Mion., n. 6—28, Leake.

Quand j'ai décrit, dans le *Num. Chron.* 1888, les divers exemplaires des tétradrachmes, n. 3, 4, à types athéniens et à la légende **ΚΙΥ**, la provenance égyptienne de plusieurs de ces pièces m'induisit à les attribuer à Sabacès, le satrape d'Egypte, qui périt, en 333, à la bataille d'Issos.

Depuis, M. Babelon a retrouvé la même légende sur de petites monnaies à types sidoniens, pareilles à celles que Mazaïos fit battre dans la Transeuphratique, dont il fut satrape de 351 à 331.

Il est donc fort probable que toutes ces pièces ont été émises dans le nord de la Syrie et la légende peut tout aussi bien contenir le nom d'une ville syrienne que celui d'un satrape.

Dans ce cas, ce qui se rapproche le plus de **ΚΙΥ** c'est **Σῶχα** ou **Σῶχοι**, nom d'une localité mentionnée une seule fois, par Arrien,<sup>106</sup> où Darius III campa avec sa grande

<sup>106</sup> Arrien, *Anab.* II, 6. Ἐτι δὲ ἐν Μαλλῷ ὄντι αὐτῷ (Ἄλεξ-

armée, en 333, avant la bataille d'Issos, et qui était située en Syrie, à deux étapes des Pyles Amaniques. Cette distance<sup>107</sup> nous conduit en Cyrrestique, aux environs de Cyrrhos, et c'est ce qui m'a fait comparer les monnaies frappées dans cette ville sous les Séleucides et non sans fruit, car les bronzes, n. 5, 9, me semblent confirmer l'attribution proposée.

Le *croissant de lune* et le *foudre* dans le champ des tétradrachmes seraient les symboles d'*Athéna Cyrrhestis*<sup>108</sup> et de *Zeus Cataibatès*, et l'adoption des types d'Athènes conviendrait parfaitement à ce district, où l'on trouve plus tard la *chouette d'Athéna Cyrrhestis* aux pieds de Zeus, sur le bronze n. 5, et sur la main de la déesse sur le bronze n. 8, et, où cette Athéna Syrienne est figurée comme la Parthenos d'Athènes sur le bronze n. 6.

Il y a une difficulté cependant. L'omission du jod dans la transcription grecque m'empêche d'identifier complètement  $\Upsilon\text{Ι}\text{Ω}$  et  $\Sigma\omega\chi\alpha$ . Il faudrait admettre qu'ainsi que les Grecs écrivent indifféremment *Ῥωσάκης* et *Ῥοισάκης*, le nom du satrape perse, frère de Spithridate, ils ont pu écrire  $\Sigma\omega\chi\alpha$  pour  $\Sigmaοί\chi\alpha$  ou  $\Sigma\omega\chi\alpha$ .

Dans ce doute, je me borne à proposer de ranger les pièces en question à la Transeuphratique et à les dater du temps où Darius III y séjourna avec son armée et où

ἀνδρῶ) ἀγγέλλεται Δαρείον ἐν Σώχοις ξὺν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει στρατοπεδεύειν· ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐς δύο μάλιστα σταδμούς.

<sup>107</sup> La journée de marche comptée à cinq parasanges de 5940 mètres fait pour les deux journées près de 60 kilomètres.

<sup>108</sup> Strabon, XVI, p. 751, 7. διέχει δ' ἡ Ἡράκλεια σταδίου εἴκοσι τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ τῆς Κυρρησιτίδος.—8. Εἴτα ἡ Κυρρηστική μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄρκτων ἔστι τὸ τε Ἀμανὸν πλησίον καὶ ἡ Κομμαγενή, συνάπτει δὲ τούτοις ἡ Κυρρηστική μέχρι δεῦρο παρατείνουσα.

une émission de monnaies pour les besoins des nombreux mercénaires grecs n'a rien qui puisse nous surprendre. Huit mille grecs parvinrent à s'évader après la défaite d'Issos, et passèrent en Egypte;<sup>109</sup> ils peuvent y avoir porté les tétradrachmes qu'on y a retrouvés.

Cette attribution me semble d'autant plus raisonnable qu'un examen renouvelé des *tétradrachmes* d'imitation, à types d'Athènes, m'a fait voir que les lieux d'émission en doivent être cherchés dans le nord de la Syrie et environs plutôt qu'en Palestine ou même en Arabie.<sup>110</sup>

J. P. SIX.

AMSTERDAM, Mai 1896.

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<sup>109</sup> Arrien, *Anabas.* II, 13.

<sup>110</sup> Babelon, *Pers. achém.*, p. lxi. Les drachmes et autres fractions à types athéniens sont à étudier séparément ainsi que quelques tétradrachmes d'un style particulier.

## XII.

### COINS AND TOKENS OF CEYLON.

(See Plates VIII., IX.)

#### INTRODUCTORY.

I ARRIVED in Colombo, Ceylon, in March, 1890, and whilst resident in the Colony, for upwards of two years, endeavoured to obtain specimens of coins of local interest.

I inserted a standing advertisement in the most widely circulated daily newspaper, visited places where coins might be likely to be picked up, employed natives to make inquiries for me, and communicated with all whom I believed to be in a position to help me.

As a result I have secured a considerable number of coins and tokens which were before unpublished, and I submit my notes embodying the information which I was able to obtain.

I am greatly indebted to many friends for information most kindly furnished respecting the various issues of Ceylon coins and tokens; without their assistance indeed I could not have recorded many interesting particulars of regal and local issues.

I wish I could have dealt more exhaustively with the early Ceylon coins, and those of the times of the kings of Kandy, and, in fact, with Ceylon numismatics up to the time of Portuguese rule. But I find that I cannot attempt this. I have not sufficient knowledge of the characters and languages on coins of those times—and what has



been already written is in many cases so full of conjecture as to be misleading rather than helpful. Thus much I can gather from local investigation; but while I feel that all statements previously made are not equally borne out by coins, I am unable at the present time to offer solutions which might be accepted as sound or final.

Original inaccurate assertions repeated in subsequent works, do so much harm that it is advisable to be very sure indeed of any statement submitted.

In the course of my experience as a collector in Ceylon it naturally happened that rare coins, or sometimes coins of types not before met with, would come under my notice. I have sometimes been told that these were forgeries, but careful investigation convinced me that this was rarely the case.

In truth, in Ceylon, modern forgeries of old or rare coins are seldom seen. There may have been, and doubtless were, contemporary forgeries, such as existed in almost all countries, but I only met with these in the series of the silver Fish-hook money of two hundred and fifty years ago, and in that of the gold star Pagodas of a century ago, and these being more rudely struck than the genuine pieces could hardly escape detection.

I am inclined to think that great harm is sometimes unintentionally done by lightly condemning coins as false.

Some Ceylon coins are cast—notably coins of the beginning of the present century—but I believe that these are genuine, just as are the cast coins for the Isle of Man of the early part of the eighteenth century—"casting" might be resorted to as a convenient local mintage operation.

Nearly all the coins I collected were sold to me at metal

value ; some account will be given as to where they were found or obtained. Very frequently the silver coins would be burnished up or burnt in the fire to clean them, and thereby rendered almost worthless, and I found it most difficult to make natives understand that they must be brought to me without being thus cleaned and polished.

The modern forgeries are most easy of detection ; a few in one batch came to me from Matale in 1891, when I was staying at Kandy. The man who brought them was in a great fright on indignation being expressed, and I saw no more of these nor of any other false coins until I went down to Colombo a few months later, and there I found the same, or a similar lot, palmed off on the manager of a leading hotel. . Similar coins were also hawked about near the landing place. When taxed with the attempt of trying to sell false coins (and there is other manufactured rubbish exposed for sale with these) the hawkers make the ready reply that they were only intended for "passenjare gentlemen."

It is hoped that "passenjare gentlemen" who are not judges of coins will not in future become purchasers, and thus inadvertently encourage these cheats, and, worse still, cause rare and genuine Ceylon coins to be received with discredit.

I trust that my description and record of the tokens issued by the coffee growers in Ceylon will be found as complete as possible.

The addition of thirty-six newly described tokens to the previous list of six given on the authority of Mr. James Atkins, shows how much untrodden ground there still is in this direction.

I venture to hope that this paper may be only the first of a series to be compiled for each British colony. Such a

groundwork would be of use to future collectors as regards coins already described.

I may add a word relative to the rapid disappearance of coins and tokens.

In Atkins' work the token, No. 58, of the West Indies, is described as follows:—

*Obv.*—ONE | FARTHING | TOKEN, in three lines, with an ornament above and below.

*Rev.*—*Redeemable by J. G. D'Ade & Co., Trinidad.*

As I knew Mr. John George D'Ade very well when stationed in Trinidad from 1867—1869, and again a year or two later, I wrote to ask him for one or two specimens. In his reply, dated 1st March, 1889, he said, "I had *ten thousand* of these farthings struck but have never seen one for many years."

What could have become of them all? I have never seen one either, yet all were issued for currency when copper coinage was scarce in the West Indies. Doubtless specimens will turn up occasionally. It seems clear then that unless such pieces are secured at once they entirely disappear and all record of them is lost.

I have given the average weights in grains of all Ceylon tokens and of many coins. These notes may be of use, but too much stress must not be laid on the weights. Perfectly genuine coins and tokens vary greatly. Modern gold and silver coins minted in England may be expected to be of accurate weight individually, but even the East India Company's copper coins once current in Ceylon, well struck as they are, of dates 1794 and 1797, vary considerably in weight, and the struck coins of Ceylon of the beginning of the century



AUTOTYPE



vary largely, even those of one and the same mintage. Moreover the legalized changes in the relative values of the silver and copper currency tended still further to complicate matters.

In remote times there seem to have been no strict rules regulating the weight of individual coins. It may have been that a certain fixed quantity of metal was given to the mints for a definite number of coins, but whether from variation in the thickness of the blanks or from some other cause it is a fact that Ceylon coins of the same date and mintage vary greatly in weight.

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#### THE EARLIEST COINAGE FOR CEYLON.

1. I do not propose to treat of possibilities and probabilities as regards the more remote issues, but rather to submit simple notes of such coins as have been brought to me in Ceylon, leaving for future study and discussion all the earlier native coinages.

2. The earliest coins found in Ceylon, of ascertainable date, are Roman.

I have in my collection rough uninscribed coins, probably struck in Ceylon, which may be of earlier date than these, just as our British uninscribed coins are of earlier date than Roman coins dug up in England; but I do not attempt here to treat of these difficult and doubtful points. A thick rectangular uninscribed silver coin, with a Dagoba on one side and a leaf on the other, is of good relief and design. The weights of my two specimens are 77 grains and 83 grains respectively [Pl. VIII. 1].

3. In the *Numismata Orientalia*, Part VI., by Mr. T.

W. Rhys Davids,<sup>1</sup> there will be found much interesting matter respecting the coinage of the kings of Kandy, a dynasty commencing about the middle of the twelfth century.

I secured five specimens of the Lankeswara gold coinage [Pl. VIII. 2—5]. These vary greatly in weight, and only three of the five are approximately the same as those quoted by Mr. Rhys Davids ( $65\frac{1}{2}$ — $68\frac{1}{2}$  grs.). He may, however, have made a mistake, as in his foot-note at page 27 he gives the weight of the current sovereign as being nearly 170 grains, whereas it is but  $123\frac{1}{4}$  grains. Two of the Lankeswara in my cabinet are considerably worn and weigh only 54 and 55 grains respectively; the remainder approach the weights which Mr. Rhys Davids quotes.

My five specimens may be added to the eight mentioned as already known. They came to me in Ceylon from different places and at various times.

4. In Ceylon, perhaps more than in any other country, there are found coins minted elsewhere, and imported for currency. The causes were changes of dynasties and changes in ownership. When we bear in mind that Portugal, Holland, and England have each been supreme during the past four centuries, and that Ceylon has been, and always will be, an important place of call for visitors to Eastern and Australian lands, this is not surprising. At the present time there is no mint established in Ceylon. There are no gold coins in use. The silver currency consists of the Indian rupee, and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and  $\frac{1}{8}$  rupee minted at Calcutta or Bombay, and for smaller change there is the copper Ceylon series, with the palm-tree, consisting of 5 cents, 1 cent,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  cent, minted at Calcutta.

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<sup>1</sup> Published by Messrs. Trübner & Co., 1877.

In the Pettahs, or native quarters of the larger towns, such as Colombo and Kandy, the Singhalese and Tamils still use extensively the copper Dutch "doits" or "challies" and "half-challies" of various dates of the eighteenth century.

5. I have secured but one specimen each of the gold coins besides the Lankeswara mentioned by Mr. Rhys Davids (*op. cit.* p. 27), and these I mostly obtained by the purchase of the entire collection of Mr. Hugh A. Grant, C.C.S., of Katugastota, near Kandy. Three of these seem to be unpublished. The limits of weight of these small thin gold coins are from 8 to 13 grains, and the types are the same as those of the massas of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Raja-Raja copper massa could never have been current in Ceylon. It belongs to Southern India, and no specimen was obtainable by me in Ceylon.

6. The list given by Mr. Rhys Davids (*op. cit.* p. 25) of Ceylon monarchs who issued coins, is confirmed by my own experience. I found coins in Ceylon of all the kings whom he names. But his notes as regards rarity are inaccurate, and he does not mention some gold and silver coins which have come to me. I attempted to secure every "find" of native coins, but of course failed to do so. I obtained, however, over 16,000 coins, including numerous duplicates.

7. *Parakrama Bahu, King of Ceylon from A.D. 1153 to A.D. 1186.*

In addition to the five Lankeswara coins, I obtained two large gold coins, with a lion on the obverse, of different sizes, but of the same weight, which may belong to this king. The weight of each is about 120 grains.

Of the copper Lion coin, of which Mr. Rhys Davids says



that less than a dozen examples have been found, I have secured seven specimens, all varying somewhat. They are mostly considerably worn. It is, however, a very rare coin. The British Museum has two specimens, one of which lately came from the collection of General Robley [Pl. VIII. 6].

The massa in copper is common, and the statement of Mr. Rhys Davids, that perhaps one hundred specimens have been found, is very misleading. Its weight is usually about 65 to 66 grains, but varies far outside these limits.

The half-massa in copper is rare, and always much worn. The quarter-massa in copper, which I have also, is very rare.

I was fortunate enough to obtain silver coins of the massa and half-massa types of this king. These are unpublished. When they were brought me I communicated with the best local authorities on such matters. The general impression was that I might be having forgeries imposed on me, as no coins in silver of this king had previously been found; but those who saw the coins, and were informed of their *provenance*, believed them to be genuine.

I myself have no doubt that they are genuine. I inquired of the most trustworthy native silversmiths, men who could have no object whatever in deceiving me. They said that occasionally, but only very rarely, such coins had been brought them, and that they were perfectly genuine, but that they had been usually broken up, as were all silver coins, for making bangles, &c. They were rarely offered old silver coins for sale, as silver was much required for other purposes, and as there were no regular coin collectors in Ceylon. Mr. H. C. P. Bell,

C.C.S., informed me that he had one or two specimens of similar appearance in his collection, but had always believed them to be either silvered over or else copper mixed with tin or zinc. But this is not the case with mine. I have had a specimen of every coin brought to me carefully tested, and they are of "unrefined silver," but without much alloy. Doubt has been expressed as to whether some are casts, but I think that, even if cast, the coins are genuine. With the precautions I took, and the investigations I made, I believe no false coins were ever bought by me.

8. *Wijaya Bahu, King of Ceylon, 1186—1187.*

As regards the copper massa, Mr. Rhys Davids says: "The coin is rare—good examples very rare." This is a mistake. I have very many specimens, but possibly all may not belong to the king now named, who succeeded Parakrama Bahu, and was his nephew. There were several Wijayas.

I have also two silver massas of this king, and in the Colombo Museum there are two silver-gilt specimens from an offering-box at Anurádhapura.

These silver coins, rare as they always are, seem never to be found together with copper ones, and are taken from dagobas (native tombs) and temples. The silver currency in those times was evidently almost as limited as the gold currency, but both undoubtedly existed, though specimens of coins which I have obtained have been tardily brought to light. The three metals were issued nearly simultaneously, and with gold and copper coinage in Ceylon, it would be remarkable if there had been no silver issue also.

9. *Nissanka Malla, King of Ceylon, 1187—1196.*

Mr. Rhys Davids (*op. cit.* p. 32), states that three

specimens of this king's coins are known. I have procured five additional specimens, only one of which is much injured by decay.

No specimen of this king's coinage has come to me struck in either gold or silver.

On my sending one of my specimens in copper [Pl. VIII. 7] to Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Government Archæologist for Ceylon, he wrote as follows :—

"The coin is very rare. It reads *Kalinga Lakavara*, or something very near it, I fancy. I fear it is hopeless to fix any particular variant of these *conventionally* figured coins to a special king. Who is to choose between Vijaya Báhu I. and III., the characters being absolutely the same, and *not old Singhalese*, but Devanagari of the eleventh and twelfth centuries? We can only hope to get at the identification by inscriptions on stone and native records, and these are not communicative on such matters."

10. *Codaganga Deva, King of Ceylon*, 1196—1197.

I have obtained two specimens in copper [Pl. VIII. 8] of this previously supposed unique coin, one of which is in very fine preservation. There is also now one specimen in the Colombo Museum. Beyond these I have not heard of any specimen being found.

No gold nor silver coins of this king have come to me, nor any half-massas.

11. *Raja Lilávati, Queen of Ceylon*, 1197—1200.

The copper massas of this reign are common.

I have a half-massa in copper; I think unique and unpublished (Pl. VIII. 9).

I have also a massa in gold. I obtained it from Mr. Wee Loo, silversmith of Kandy, who said it was found

and brought to him by a native living in the country. The appearance of it is suspicious, but I think the coin must be genuine. The source from whence it came seems trustworthy, and I never heard of a second one. The gold is much alloyed.

I have both double massas and massas of this queen struck in silver; both are unpublished. The two double massas are thick coins, well struck, but in rather bad preservation, though the characters are quite legible.

Some of the massas are rather roughly struck, and these are worn; others are well struck and in fine preservation. I do not understand why one variety should appear to have been longer in circulation than the other.

12. *Sahasa Malla, King of Ceylon, 1200—1202.*

The copper massa of this king is common.

I have also massas struck in silver.

13. *Dharmásoka Deva, King of Ceylon, 1208—1209.*

I cannot confirm the statement of Mr. Rhys Davids, "The coin is very rare, like that of Wijaja Bahu."

The coin of Wijaja Bahu is common; that of Dharmásoka Deva is less common, but I secured a large number of good specimens [Pl. VIII. 10].

I have also very fine specimens of the massa in silver.

14. *Bhuvanaika Bahu, King of Ceylon, 1296.*

The copper massas are common, but I have met with no half-massas in that metal.

I have four *half-massas* of this king struck in gold. The finder who brought them cleaned them with much energy, in order that I might clearly see they were gold, and thereby almost ruined the coins.

I have massas in silver of this king. They are of four

different weights and of very poor workmanship as compared with the silver coins of the last mintage, which was nearly one hundred years earlier.

I have also a single specimen in silver of both the half-massa and quarter-massa [Pl. VIII. 11]. The workmanship of these is not very good, but it is better somewhat than in the case of the massas.

15. As regards the coins of the above-named kings, I may mention that I have a fragment of a silver massa, the third of the coin, neatly cut, doubtless to pass for small change, just as our early English pennies were quartered sometimes for the same purpose.

I have also a large lump of the copper coins welded together from the effects of heat and lapse of time. Several other massas which I have are curious, but being somewhat decayed I cannot decipher them.

16. At Kandy I had a "find" of five silver coins brought to me. With my limited knowledge of Eastern characters I could make nothing of the inscriptions, but they appeared to me similar to those on the coins of the kings of Kandy. I sent one of them to Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Government Archæologist in Ceylon. He writes, "It is a Chola coin—the *face* on the reverse fixing it at once. All Chola coins nearly are of that jât. Tracy has it in his cabinet, and I see classes it as a Chola or Pandyan. He reads 'Santara' doubtfully."

These silver coins are of the size of the half-massa and weigh 42 grains each.

17. I have never found in Ceylon the large or small Sétu Bull coin mentioned by Mr. Rhys Davids on pages 31 and 32 of his treatise, nor did I meet with the coin bearing the type of a bull and two fishes. I almost think that I should have secured specimens had these

ever been current in Ceylon, because copper coins have not been broken up so much as those of gold and silver.

I had no specimen brought me in Ceylon of any coin of Raja-Raja.


18. *Fish-hook money.*

The Fish-hook money, mentioned by Mr. Rhys Davids (*op. cit.* p. 33), as current in Ceylon in the seventeenth century, is rare.

I have specimens in *gold* of two varieties, and in *silver* of ten, varying either as regards shape or the characters marked on the coins. I have also many forgeries of the time when this money was current; these forgeries are of the type figured by Mr. Rhys Davids, and are of clumsy workmanship; they could only have passed as genuine amongst the most ignorant inhabitants, if intended really to pass for silver; but it is just possible, though hardly likely, that they are a genuine issue in base metal intended for small change.

I have a variety of the silver larin of this period simply bent over in the shape of a loop, with the two ends projecting. The straight silver larins were probably never struck in Ceylon.

19. Specimens of the Portuguese silver coins struck about the time when the native Fish-hook money was in circulation, are very rare. As is the case with all silver coins of Ceylon, these have been broken up for making native silver ornaments. The "tanga," with the Portuguese arms between C-Lo. [*Ceylão* or *Ceylon*] on one side, and the gridiron of St. Lawrence with date on the other, in my collection, all bear the date 1640 or 1641. They are of very rough mintage, and must, I think, most certainly have been struck in Ceylon by Portuguese authority.

Other silver coins, the tanga and half-tanga, bearing the Portuguese arms, have on the reverse the monogram  and the date 1643 [Pl. VIII. 12]; they also appear to be of rough colonial mintage.

Coins of the "Friar" type (xerafims and half-xerafims), dating from about 1643—1658, have on the obverse the letters G. A. (Goa) on either side of the Portuguese arms, and on the reverse the figure of St. Thomas (the so-called friar) between S. T. [Pl. VIII. 13]. These coins were struck specially for circulation in Goa, and in the course of commerce found their way into Ceylon. They are quite as roughly struck as those previously mentioned.

I found no Portuguese gold nor copper coins which could have been minted in Ceylon, but one or two came to me which had been imported for currency during the period of Portuguese rule.

20. Gold fanams and the extremely small coins in gold, silver, and copper, weighing less than 7 grains, as used by the Tamils, are still sometimes to be obtained in the pettahs of Colombo and Kandy. There are two or three varieties struck in each metal.

A find of forty-two roughly struck copper coins of four different sizes, all with the elephant upon them, came to me from near Kandy. They appear to be of South Indian mintage rather than of Ceylon.

21. The principal events in the history of Ceylon which may have bearing on the issues of coins are the following :—

545. B.C. Buddha died.

505. B.C. Panduwara founded the city of Anurádhapura, and from this time there were invasions, conquests, and counter conquests by Cholians, Tamils, and other forces

from the adjacent mainland, until the settlement of the Portuguese in Ceylon in 1505.

The Portuguese were turned out by the Dutch in 1658.


The Dutch were conquered by the English in 1796, and Ceylon was made a Crown colony and the first English Governor was appointed on the 12th October, 1798. The Kings of Kandy, however, held local powers for eighteen years later.

At the present day the Kandyan Chiefs attend at a Durbar once or twice a year before the British Governor, and the grant of Native rank rests with the Governor.


22. I pass now to the coinage of the time of the Dutch, whose occupation lasted from 1658 till 1798.


There was little gold currency—a few imported Portuguese, Indian, and Dutch coins only—and for the latest years there were imported from India Star Pagodas of two types.

There was no Ceylon mintage of silver. Rupees of various types found their way over from India, but the current silver coinage came mainly from Holland. The Danish Tolf skillings of 1710 seem to have been imported in large quantities; none are known, however, of any other date.

There are the ducatoon, the six-stiver, two-stiver, and stiver, with the arms of Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, or Gelderland, according to place of mintage. On many of these is the monogram , standing for *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (United East India Company), and all with this monogram were, of course, specially struck for currency in the eastern Dutch possessions; but a large number of Dutch silver coins imported had no such monogram, although issued for currency at the same time as the others. The above-named beautifully executed silver



coins are now very rarely to be obtained in Ceylon, having been broken up for making native silver ornaments. They were mainly imported between the years 1700 and 1770. Though all are rare, yet there are degrees of rarity. The ducatoon of *Holland* without  of dates 1757, 1761 (2), 1765 (2), and 1775, were met with by me in Ceylon; also six-stiver pieces of *Holland* of 1724, 1726 (2), and 1730; and two-stiver silver pieces of *Holland* of 1707 (3), 1710, 1721, 1724, 1725 (2), 1727, 1728 (2), 1729 (3), 1730 (2), 1732 (2), 1755, 1760, 1790, 1791 (2); and one-stiver of *Holland* of 1726 (2), 1727, 1730, and 1733 (3).

Of the type with , like the *Holland* challies, I met with a two-stiver piece of 1760, and a one-stiver piece of 1758 in silver. Neither had the value marked, and they must, I think, be patterns.

I have small silver betel-nut boxes with top and bottom made of these coins, just as we sometimes find *Queen Anne* shillings worked into punch-ladles and snuff-boxes.

Of *Zeeland* I collected ducatoons of 1765, 1768, and 1790; six-stiver pieces of 1725 and 1768; two-stiver pieces of 1683, 1700 (2), 1726, and 1731, and one-stiver pieces of 1681, 1708, 1727, 1731 (2).



Of *Gelderland*—I found two-stiver pieces—with the arms—of dates 1706, 1785, and 1789 (2).

Of *West Friesland*—two-stiver pieces of 1702, 1731, 1759, and 1772, and a one-stiver of 1770.

I met with no silver coin of *Utrecht*, although the copper coinage of this province is still rather plentiful in Ceylon.


The above dates would doubtless corroborate the *Netherland* Mint-issue records of the period, to some extent, but silver coins may have been sent out of other dates to meet

the usual fate of exported coins when silver was high in price, or of being broken up by native silversmiths for making anklets and bangles.

It will be noted that only three of these silver coins were found by me in Ceylon with the monogram . The coinage usually sent there presumably, therefore, cannot have been specially minted for the Dutch East India Company. I find, however, on returning home that these  silver coins are met with in the hands of dealers in coins both in the Netherlands and in London, and I have secured a good number of various eighteenth-century dates; but of course these cannot be in any way considered as belonging to the Ceylon series, though they were undoubtedly struck for circulation in some Eastern Dutch settlement.

23. The first Dutch copper coinage issued in any quantity in Ceylon was the well-struck  $\frac{1}{2}$ -stiver of Batavia. This coin is only of one date, viz., 1644. It is still occasionally met with in the pettahs, but has become rare.


Next was issued the rough, thick coinage of 2, 1,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and  $\frac{1}{8}$ -stiver, rudely marked with letters "St" reversed on each side of the coin. There is no date on any of these, and the 2-stiver and  $\frac{1}{8}$ -stiver pieces are very rare.

I have a specimen of the 1-stiver of the above type struck in silver. These coins were current in Ceylon at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They were, I think, of local mintage, but I can find no record. I met also with "challies," or "doits," and "half-challies." These were minted respectively in or for Holland, Friesland, Zeeland, Gelderland, and Utrecht, and on one side bear the arms of the place of mintage, and on the other the .

The challies usually bear dates from 1726 to 1794, and the first half-challies are of the date 1749. The following

list shows the actual dates which I found on coins in Ceylon.

TABLE.

Dates on Dutch copper doits or challies and half-doits imported for currency into Ceylon during the eighteenth century, arranged under the names of the Provinces issuing the same, with their respective arms, and all with the monogram .

CHALLIES.					HALF-CHALLIES.		
Holland.	Zeeland.	Gelder-land.	Utrecht.	Friesland.	Holland.	Utrecht.	Friesland.
1726	1727						
	1728						
	1729			1729			
1730	1730			1730			
1731	1731	1731		1731			
1732	1732	1732		1732			
1733	1733			1733			
1734	1734			1734			
1735	1735			1735			
1736	1736			1736			
1737	1737			1737			
	1738						
1742	1739		1742				
1743				1743			
1744	1744		1744	1744			
1745	1745		1745	1745			
1746	1746		1746	1746			
1747	1747			1747			
1748	1748			1748			
1749	1749			1749	1749		
1750	1750			1750	1750		
1751	1751			1751	1751		
1752	1752		1752	1752	1752	1752	
1753	1753		1753	1753	1753	1753	
1754	1754		1754	1754	1754	1754	
1755	1755		1755	1755		1755	
	1756			1756		1756	
	1757		1757			1757	
1764	1764			1764			1762
	1765		1765	1765			
1766	1766		1766	1766			
1767	1767		1767	1767			
	1768						
	1770			1770	1769		
	1771			1771	1770		1770
1776	1772	1776		1772			
1777			1777				

TABLE (continued).

CHALLIES.					HALF-CHALLIES.		
Holland.	Zeeland.	Gelderland.	Utrecht.	Friesland.	Holland.	Utrecht.	Friesland.
1778	1775			1778			
			1779	1779			
1780	1780		1780	1780			
			1781	1781			
1784	1784		1784	1784			
1785	1785	1785	1785				
	1786	1786	1786	1786			
1787	1787	1787	1787	1787			
	1788		1788	1788			
1789	1789	1789	1789	1789			
1790	1790	1790	1790	1790			
	1791	1791	1791	1791			
	1792	1792		1792			
	1793						
	1794						

The arms on the challies are:—

*Holland.* Arms, a lion rampant on a crowned shield.

*Zeeland.* Arms, a lion naissant on a crowned shield.

*Gelderland.* Arms, two lions combattant, divided per pale on a crowned shield.


*Utrecht.* Arms, a crowned shield supported by two lions.

*Friesland.* Arms, two lions passant guardant, on a crowned shield.


The above-named five provinces of the Netherlands alone issued coins for Ceylon.



Half-challies are found of only three provinces, viz., Holland, Utrecht, and Friesland.

If these coins of other dates than those specified were circulated in Ceylon they must be very rare, as I made every effort to secure specimens of all dates.

24. I obtained in Ceylon but one specimen of the copper ingot  $4\frac{3}{4}$ -stiver, stamped on both sides with value as stated, and at either end with the monogram  under the letter C. The length of it is  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches, and the weight  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ounces.

These ingots are now of the greatest rarity, and probably nearly all of the few struck have been broken up for brass-work.

There are some copper coins in my collection with the monogram , and with Indian, Tamil, or Singhalese characters. They are about the size of the  $\frac{1}{4}$ -stiver, and, though thick, are often very well struck.

I have also specimens of a well-struck  $\frac{1}{4}$ -stiver with obverse , and reverse  ST. [Pl. VIII. 14]. The C above the monogram in this case doubtless stands for Colombo or Ceylon, but it must not be assumed that it was struck there. There are similar  $\frac{1}{4}$ -stivers with the letter P for Pulicut above the Dutch monogram.

Also I have lead doits or challies of the dates 1789 and 1792, with C above the monogram, and a piece in leather which may have been meant for a doit. It has Tamil characters, difficult to decipher, on the reverse.

25. We now come to the thick Dutch copper coins, with dates ranging from 1783 to 1795.


These coins have initial letters above the Dutch United East India Company's monogram of four Ceylon mintages, viz., "C" for Colombo, "G" for Galle, "T" for Trincomalie, and "I" for Jaffna.

Doubts have at times been expressed as to whether the initials as above really refer to the towns named. I, therefore, resolved to settle this question in a practical way.

At Colombo I found that nearly all coins of this type which I could pick up bore the letter "C," and at Galle the letter G. At Trincomalie, on my first visit in September, 1890, I secured every coin to be found in the place; nearly all bore the "T," though one or two had been imported with other initial letters. My collect-

ing here was so exhaustive that though I made my want of coins clearly understood throughout the pettahs, no further coins could be subsequently obtained for me. No one has previously included the Jaffna mintage in this series, the reason being that the coinages of both Trincomalie and Jaffna are very rarely met with, and that the rough "I" for Jaffna [Pl. VIII. 15] has not been hitherto distinguished from the rough "T" for Trincomalie.

26. Of the four above-named types, viz.,


*Obv.*—

*Rev.*—1 STVIVER (and date),

I have of the Colombo mintage in my collection 1-stiver pieces of each year from 1783 to 1795. The coins of some of these dates are very rare, and no specimen of dates 1793 and 1794 exists in the Colombo Museum.

There were no 2-stiver pieces nor  $\frac{1}{2}$ -stiver pieces minted for Colombo.

27. For Galle there are 2-stiver and 1-stiver pieces.

*Obv.*—G above monogram  and value under monogram.

*Rev.*—Date with Tamil letters below.

The dates in my collection are, for the 2-stivers, 1783, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1792. All are rare, but perhaps dates 1783 and 1792 least so. The last-named is in the Colombo Museum. I have a specimen of the 2-stiver piece of date 1783 struck in silver.

The 1-stiver of Galle is similar to the 2-stiver piece

except for value. I have dates 1783, 1787, 1790, 1792. None are, I think, published.

28. The Trincomalie and Jaffna coins are somewhat similar in general design to those of Galle, but of course with initial T or I above the monogram instead of the G. The workmanship is, however, very much rougher than that of the Galle mint.

Of Trincomalie I have a 2-stiver piece of date 1793, and 1-stiver pieces of dates 1783, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793; and of Jaffna 2-stiver pieces of dates 1783, 1784, and 1792; and a finely-executed 1-stiver piece of 1792.

All the above are very rare.

The Jaffna thick 2-stiver piece of 1783 is perhaps the best executed of all the series, and may have been minted in India or by Indian workmen employed in Ceylon.

29. The Dutch coinage for Ceylon ceased in 1795. The English occupation commenced in 1796, and about two or three years later there followed a large importation of the Madras copper coinage of dates 1794 and 1797, the coins of both dates being of values of 48 to the rupee and 96 to the rupee. These well-struck coins are still to be met with in the pettahs. They bear the legend, "United East India Company," with date on the obverse.

For silver currency there remained from this time until 1801 the Dutch ducatoons and smaller issues, supplemented by Surat and Sicca rupees and Spanish dollars, the latter being perhaps the most world-wide and popular silver coin of those times.

The gold coins were the Star and Porto-Novo pagodas.

30. I will now try to deal concisely with the coinage arrangements and disarrangements of the year 1801.

Bertolacci, acting Auditor-General of Ceylon, in his

work on Ceylon,<sup>2</sup> gives very detailed accounts of the currency troubles for the twenty years preceding the year 1816. It is, however, extremely difficult to follow and verify his record of the numerous changes in weight and of the relative values of coins then current.

The actual coins, in my opinion, when acquired on the spot, throw far more real light on the state of things than quotations of ordinances and regulations can do, especially as these were often not fully acted upon, and thereby only confuse the investigator.

Down to the year 1801 I find coins were current in the colony, as noted generally in the foregoing paragraphs.

But in the year 1801 it is clear that great attention was being given to the issue of currency proper to the colony now subject to the British Government. In that year pattern coins were made, and I have of these the following:—

*The 96-stiver or two rix-dollar silver piece.* The three specimens vary somewhat in weight. The workmanship is as rough as in the case of the copper 4-stiver, 2-stiver, and 1-stiver pieces of the same and following dates.

Captain Tuffnell, in his excellent work on the Coins of Southern India, refers to the issue of the rough 96-stiver pieces in silver in 1801. I have met with the thick cast silver coins of the dates 1801, 1803, and 1812. The local coinage troubles of each of these dates account for these issues, and for differences in weight and clippings of the thick copper pieces.

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<sup>2</sup> *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial Interests of Ceylon*, by Anthony Bertolacci, published by Black, Parbury, and Allen, Leadenhall Street, 1817.



*The large thin 48-stiver silver piece or rix-dollar.* This is of the type of the copper coin figured by Atkins, page 196, No. 66.<sup>3</sup> I have never met in Ceylon with a copper coin of this date and type, nor of the dates 1803 and 1804, as mentioned by Atkins.

The copper pieces of 1801, 1803, and 1804 could never have been current but were patterns only. The issue of 1802 is still found in the pettahs, and was widely current.

The thin silver coin above alluded to is of the same weight as the thick rough 48-stiver piece, or rix-dollar of 1803 [Atkins, page 193, No. 4], though so widely different in type from it. The die is very defective, and probably soon broke or was destroyed.

31. *The thick silver 96-stiver (or two rix-dollar) "Ceylon Government" pieces* [Pl. VIII. 16]. I obtained one dated 1801, and this being of light weight had not met the fate of exported coins, or of being broken up, which, on account of the high value of the metal, happened to most of the good silver coinage of that period. I never met with this 96-stiver piece of date 1803 as mentioned by Atkins, p. 192. The pieces dated 1801 and those of 1808 and 1809 are extremely rare. In Ceylon I met with about four specimens only of 1809, and two only of 1808, and none of any other date except 1801—and a single specimen of very light weight struck in silver with date 1812 and of the type of the copper stiver of English mintage of 1802.

Of the 48-stiver piece or rix-dollar [Pl. VIII. 17] of

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<sup>3</sup> *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, by James Atkins, published by Bernard Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly, 1889.

the same type as the thick 96-stiver piece, Mr. Rhys Davids gives the dates 1803, 1804, 1808, 1809, but only had the one of 1808 in his own collection.

Mr. Atkins adds to the above list one of date 1805.

I obtained all that are here mentioned, and there are two types (both of which I have) of date 1803. I likewise acquired an unpublished specimen dated 1812. According to the Local Records of coinage regulations of that date, the value of the rix-dollar struck at the Island Mint was fixed at 1s. 9d., though in the next year the rate of exchange fell sixty per cent.

Such rapid fluctuations, together with the contracts for mintage which were granted, caused great confusion. Authority was obtained and recorded for coinage which was never actually issued, and some trial pieces were struck or cast and submitted as specimens or patterns.

Of the 24-stiver pieces [Pl. VIII. 18] Mr. Rhys Davids gives the dates 1803, 1804, 1808.

Mr. Atkins adds the date 1809.

Of these I obtained all except that of 1803, and I also acquired one, of heavy weight, dated 1816—a great year everywhere for coinage in silver.

In addition to the above there is a specimen in the British Museum dated 1805.

32. *Thick copper pieces of Ceylon mintage issued between the dates 1801 and 1816 inclusive.*

These are of similar mintage to the silver coins described in the last paragraph. They all have on the obverse an elephant with date beneath, and on the reverse CEYLON GOVERNMENT, with figures in the centre to denote the value.

The largest specimens have the number 12 in the centre to show that twelve of them go to a rix-dollar, and thus as

there were 48 stivers to a rix-dollar, each of these thick copper coins was valued at 4 stivers.

Similarly, those with the number 24 [Pl. VIII. 19] upon them were  $\frac{1}{24}$ th of a rix-dollar and each worth 2 stivers, and those with 48 [Pl. VIII. 20] upon them were  $\frac{1}{48}$ th of a rix-dollar and each worth one stiver.

Mr. Atkins in his headings to these coins on pages 194 and 195 is mistaken in calling them  $\frac{1}{24}$ th, &c., of a *Rupee*. They are, in fact, *Rix-Dollars*, as above stated—in all this series.

Of the 4-stiver pieces, twelve to a rix-dollar, Mr. Atkins gives the following dates:—1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1814, 1815.

I have given special attention to this series, and obtained, in duplicate, all the above coins except those of 1806, 1809, and 1810. A perusal of records has convinced me that no copper coins of these three last-named dates were ever current in Ceylon. I have two types or rather different weights of this coin dated 1813.

The dates of issue of the 2-stiver piece of 24 to a rix-dollar, given by Mr. Atkins, are 1801, 1802, 1803, 1805, 1809, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1815.

I believe the specimen of 1809 was never issued for circulation, and I never came across one of 1812, but I obtained, in duplicate, specimens of all the other dates mentioned, and in addition specimens in duplicate of the unpublished dates 1814 and 1816, and one of 1803 with the elephant facing to right, as cited by Mr. Atkins for the silver rix-dollar of same date, page 193, No. 5.

The dates given by Mr. Atkins for the "Ceylon Government" copper stiver, 48 to a rix-dollar, are, 1801, 1802,

1803, 1805, 1806, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815.

I am convinced that those dated 1805, 1806, 1809, 1810, were never issued for currency. I possess all the other dates in duplicate except 1815, of which I have only one specimen. In 1815 there was a supersession of the native copper coinage by a coinage from England—but prior to the arrival of the consignment a few of the thick  $\frac{1}{4}$ th rix-dollar pieces of 1816 were struck.

All coins, both silver and copper, of the above-named series are now very difficult to obtain. The intrinsic value of the metal led to their being broken up. I have met with only one date of a copper coin of this type struck in silver as a *pièce de luxe*, viz., the  $\frac{1}{4}$ th rix-dollar of 1816.

33. The little Fanam silver tokens, said to have been used to pay labourers during the building of the Baddegama church about the year 1820, were probably struck in Ceylon. They are of neat execution, with *Fanam* on one side and *Token* on the other. They are now scarcely ever met with. But respecting this token see below, paragraph 38 of these notes—for though recently issued there is some uncertainty about them.

34. Of the coins for Ceylon, minted in England and actually sent out as currency, the following is, I believe, as complete and correct a record as is now obtainable.

In 1802 there was the thin copper coinage of 48, 96, and 192 to the rix-dollar. The issue of the 96-piece was smaller than those of the other two denominations, and its relief is rather lower, so that this piece is rarely found in good condition. There are also gilt "proofs" of all three coins to be met with, sometimes (but rarely) in England, but I never saw such proofs in the Colony.

Next in order of date we come to the great issue from England (the Royal Mint) of the Ceylon copper coinage of the year 1815.

This issue was of the value of 200,000 rix-dollars.

The coins are of the following three denominations:—2-stivers, 1-stiver, and  $\frac{1}{2}$ -stiver, and, as before stated, 48 stivers go to the rix-dollar.

The 1-stiver pieces are still very common in Ceylon, the other two are somewhat less common. The design of these is not bad but the relief is poor.

There were also patterns struck in England, in 1815, for a silver rix-dollar, of the same type as the copper stiver of that date.

None of these patterns found their way to Ceylon, but they are occasionally met with in the hands of collectors in England.

Ruding<sup>4</sup> has a note under date November 14th, 1812, that, "a silver coinage was ordered for Ceylon, and authority given that it might be executed in the Island." It never was so executed, though I have patterns of the type of the thick rix-dollar of 1803 (48 stivers) dated 1812.

It should here be noted that where Ruding states that certain coins were *authorised* to be struck, it very often happened that they were never actually supplied, as something more urgent cropped up. Sometimes there was a supply, sometimes not.

The type of the English-struck pattern rix-dollar of 1815 was subsequently adopted in the issue of rix-dollars of 1821, an issue for currency which really took place, as will now be noted.

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<sup>4</sup> *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, by the Rev. Rogers Ruding, 1840.

35. The first silver money ever sent from England to Ceylon as current coin was that of rix-dollars of 1821.

Ruding says that, "On October 19th, 1821, a Treasury Letter of this date orders a coinage for the island of Ceylon to consist of a dollar weighing five pennyweights, eighteen grains and two-thirds, the type being for the obverse the king's head with the legend GEORGIUS IIII D. G. BRITANNIAR. REX F. D., and for the reverse the figure of an elephant with an oak wreath and the words above CEYLON ONE RIX DOLLAR, and the date of the year. The obverse was engraved by Pistrucci, and the reverse by William Wyon." In a foot-note Ruding says, "The amount coined was £400,000."

Atkins perpetuates Ruding's statement as above.

The idea of £400,000 worth of a silver coin being thus issued for Ceylon in one batch is preposterous, and on reference to the Royal Mint authorities they have most courteously given me the information that the value of the issue was £30,000, viz., in 400,000 pieces, called rix-dollars, and that the consignment was actually sent out in January, 1822. Thus the value of each of these rix-dollars was 1s. 6d.

The issue of £30,000 worth, however, was so large as to make the coin still somewhat common.

36. The following facts may now be noted :—

Since the year 1816 no mintage of any coins for currency has ever taken place within the colony itself, except, of course, tokens struck for local and special use by owners of large coffee and other mills.

Between the years 1821 and 1869 the rupee silver series as obtained from India supplemented the silver rix-dollar of 1821 for currency, and in 1839 £2,000 in fourpences,

and in 1842 £5,000 in fourpences supplied from the Royal Mint, England, were added. Thus with rupees,  $\frac{1}{2}$ -rupees,  $\frac{1}{4}$ -rupees, and  $\frac{1}{8}$ -rupees ( $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents) flowing into Ceylon year by year to the present time, and supplementing and replacing the other coins above mentioned, there is now an ample silver currency. There are no gold coins supplied as currency, and the highest value of any single piece in Ceylon is the rupee.

I should perhaps refer to the bank notes circulated in Ceylon, in the troublous times of the currency in the early part of the present century.

Bertolacci's work gives many details respecting the financial complications which led to the issue of these notes. Amongst others issued there are in the Colombo museum the following:—

Dutch notes for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 10 rix-dollars, January 1st, 1796.

Half an English 50 rix-dollar note, No. 1100.

Half an English 50 rix-dollar note, January 1st, 1809.

Half of a 10 rix-dollar note, August 1st, 1812.

Half of a 10 rix-dollar note, May 1st, 1818.

Half of a 5 rix-dollar note, August 1st, 1812.

English 2 rix-dollar note, November 1st, 1826.

English 1 rix-dollar note, no number nor date.

37. It now remains, since no coins were struck in Ceylon between 1816 and 1869, to specify what was imported for currency.

The rupee series has, as above stated, been freely and continuously obtained from India. These coins have no distinctive mint mark nor difference showing that they are for use in Ceylon; they are of the ordinary Indian type.

Owing to the kindness of the Hon. Sir C. W. Fremantle,

K.C.B., late Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, I have been given a complete list of all coins issued from the Royal Mint to Ceylon. I append this list, which will be of value to all those who take interest in the coinages of the British Colonies.

"The coinages mentioned in the Mint Records as having been forwarded to Ceylon from the beginning of the century until 1866 are as follows :—

*Silver.*

£30,000 (400,000 pieces) in rix-dollars in January, 1822.  
 £2,000 in fourpences in 1839.  
 £5,000 in       ,,       in 1842.

*Copper.*

200,000 rix-dollars authorised in 1815, no details, and dates of despatch not recorded.

£1,000 in half-farthings	} Sent July, 1828.
£2,000 in       ,,	
£1,000 in       ,,	
£1,000 in halfpence	
£5,000 no details, 1830.	
£571 in half-farthings in 1833.	
£500 in       ,,	} in 1837.
£500 in farthings	
£500 in halfpence	
£500 in pence	
£1,000 in half-farthings	} new designs, 1839.
£1,000 in quarter-farthings	
£1,000 (no details) also in 1839.	
£1,500 in half-farthings	} in 1842.
£1,500 in farthings	
£1,500 in halfpence	
£500 in pence	
£5,000 in equal proportions of half-farthings, farthings, and halfpence	} 1844.
£3,000 in half-farthings, farthings, halfpence, and pence, but proportions not given	

(Note on 27th March, 1855, a sum of £6,049 Os. 3d. was paid for Ceylon coin.)



£10 in quarter-farthings	} in January, 1857.
£490 in half-farthings	
£1,000 in farthings	
£1,500 in halfpence	
£3,000 in pence	
£6,000 (no details), 1859.	

"It should be noted that in most cases the coinages were ordered some considerable time before they were dispatched, so that each individual coin would not necessarily bear the date given."

The silver coins specified above have almost disappeared. The rix-dollars of 1822 are sometimes met with, and the four-penny pieces also, but not now as currency.

None of the copper issues could have been popular as currency amongst natives. The coins were melted up for brass work. The supply of Dutch challies of the eighteenth century was sufficient for use in the pettahs, and these challies seem to be still preferred by the natives to the British copper coinage.

It may be interesting here to give the values of current Ceylon coins as laid down by the Royal Proclamation of the 18th day of June, 1869, the Indian rupee currency being thereby confirmed.

"The penny at the rate of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an anna or 8 pie.

" halfpenny	" $\frac{1}{2}$	" 4 "
" farthing	" $\frac{1}{4}$	" 2 "
" Ceylon fanam	" 1 anna	" 12 "
" " stiver		
" or pice	" $\frac{1}{2}$	" 8 "
" challee	" $\frac{1}{4}$	" 1 "

"And we do hereby further declare and ordain that from and after the same date, the silver Company's rupee of India of 180 grains weight and  $\frac{1}{12}$ ths fineness, as now legally current in India, and its silver subdivisions of proportionate intrinsic value, consisting of the half-rupee (8 annas), the quarter-rupee (4 annas), and the eighth of a rupee (2 annas), shall be the only legal tender of payment (except as hereinbefore directed) within our colony of Ceylon and its dependencies."

38. There is, I think, little doubt that the 1½d. pieces, as enumerated by Mr. Atkins, of various dates from 1834 to 1862, should be struck out of the Ceylon series. None are to be met with in the colony, and there is nothing in the Mint records to show that the issues of this coin of the various dates ever took place. The Colombo Museum has no specimen.

As regards this little coin Captain Campbell Tuffnell, in his most useful work, after quoting the description and remarks by Mr. Rhys Davids, adds:—

“The description so exactly corresponds with that of the 1½d. of the Maundy money, that I cannot but think that the specimens alluded to belong to that series or to an issue of this silver piece—still to a certain extent in circulation in Malta—as a fraction of 3d., which sum appears to be the most usual charge for all small commodities and services in Valetta.”

Captain Tuffnell is in error in supposing that this 1½d. could have belonged to any English Maundy set (as such sets are composed of pieces of value 4d., 3d., 2d., and 1d. only). The little 1½d. pieces were struck at the Royal Mint, London, for Ceylon, but there is no record that they were ever sent to that colony; and since they are not met with there, I believe they were not so sent. The term “token” is a misnomer for them.

I feel very doubtful whether the small silver Fanam tokens, referred to in paragraph 33, may not have been struck by the Colonial Government, although not specially for the local purpose named in that paragraph.

Under the authority of his Excellency the Governor of

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<sup>5</sup> *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*, by Captain R. H. Campbell Tuffnell. Government Press, Madras, 1889.

Ceylon in council, 16th day of July, 1814, the following Government advertisement was issued :—

“ GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

“ Notice is hereby given that from and after Monday, the 25th day of July instant, the Honourable the Treasurer will be authorised to issue silver Fanam tokens in exchange for notes or copper, and the same are hereby declared and published to be current at the rate of 12 Fanam tokens for one rix-dollar, and receivable accordingly at the General Treasury and the several Cutcheries of the Island.

“ By His Excellency's command.

(Signed) “ JOHN RODNEY, Chief Secretary to Government.

“ Chief Secretary's Office, Colombo, 16th July, 1814.”

The date proposed for issue seems close on the above advertisement. If tokens were issued upon this authority, it can hardly be that they were other than those referred to in paragraph 33. At any rate no others are known of about that period ; and there are papers showing that the weight of these little tokens was below the legalised rate of exchange, in order that the exportation of silver coinage from Ceylon—which had become a crying evil—might not affect this new coinage, the object of which was to maintain a silver currency of small denominations.

39. With reference to the importation into Ceylon of the copper coins from England, referred to in paragraph 37, I collected all I could still obtain from the pettahs, and nearly all are in uncirculated state, thus showing that natives would not accept them. As a result of my collecting, I find that the consignments from England must have been composed thus :—

Pennies of dates 1826, 1827, 1837, 1843, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1851, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1859.

Halfpennies of dates 1826, 1827, 1834, 1837, 1838, 1841, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1852, 1853, 1855, 1856, 1858, 1859.

Farthings of dates 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1834, 1837, 1839, 1841, 1843, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1851, 1853, 1855, 1856, 1858, 1859.

Half-farthings of dates 1828, 1830, 1837, 1839, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1847, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1856.

Quarter-farthings of dates 1839, 1851, 1852, 1853.

If details had been preserved of dates on coins sent to Ceylon, I doubt not that the above list would be found correct. I met with a very few stray well-worn English coins of other dates than those given, but with only one coin of each of such dates, and I believe these were brought by English passengers. The coins here referred to are:—

Halfpennies of 1807 and 1825, and  
Farthings of 1834 and 1836.

No one-third-farthings were ever sent to Ceylon. No half-farthing of 1827, as noted by Mr. Atkins, No. 77, was minted for currency. Mr. Atkins makes no mention of the pennies, halfpennies, farthings, and quarter-farthings of the above-named dates having been sent out for currency; but they were thus introduced.<sup>6</sup>

40. The following are the dates of silver coins of the

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\* May I be allowed to say that in noting inaccuracies in standard and valuable works as I have done, I fully recognise that the authors were at a disadvantage, because their works were compiled without local investigations. My obligations are great to all the works I have cited for indicating the directions of enquiry, and any corrections and additions which I now give are tendered with my best thanks for the hints given me by the more exhaustive works referred to.

rupee series, imported into Ceylon from India, in quantity for currency, up to 1891:—

Rupees of dates 1835, 1840, 1862, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891.

50-cent pieces of dates 1835, 1840, 1876, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889.

25-cent pieces of dates 1835, 1840, 1874, 1875, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890.

12½-cent pieces of dates 1841, 1862, 1874, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890.

The above are the dates of rupee coins still found in circulation in Ceylon in sufficient numbers to warrant the belief that they must have been imported for currency. Stray coins of other dates are occasionally met with, but these were probably brought over from India by passengers or else imported in very small numbers indeed.

41. It may here be remarked in retrospect, that under date, Kandy, 26th September, 1836, the Company's rupee, half-rupee, and quarter-rupee were authorised by the Governor to supersede the rix-dollar.

The English-struck rix-dollars of 1821 were, at the time of issue, of the *intrinsic* value of 1s. 5¼d.; though imported at value 1s. 6d. each.

The 12½-cent silver piece was subsequently added to the original currency which comprised only the three higher denominations, and the four coins now form the silver coinage of Ceylon.

42. Next in order comes the tasteful copper coinage for Ceylon, dated 1870.

*Obv.*—Crowned bust to left within a border inscribed  
VICTORIA QUEEN.

*Rev.*—CEYLON . FIVE . CENTS . 1870, with a palm-tree and Singhalese inscription.

There are also in this series 1,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and  $\frac{1}{4}$ -cent pieces of similar design to the above.

It is to be regretted that the palm-tree was substituted for the time-honoured badge, the elephant; and when a new coinage is designed, it is to be hoped that the old type will be restored.

The above-named coins were struck at the Royal Calcutta Mint, and are of good workmanship.

As the issue was a very large one, and as there then existed ample small change, there was no further mintage for twenty years. In 1890 and 1891, however, coins of the same type and values were again struck.

The copper coinage, as above, dated 1870, was only actually brought into circulation in the year 1872. These coins are of pure copper, and the weight was taken from the English copper penny as current prior to 1860. The 1-cent piece was an imitation of the English farthing, being *one-quarter* of the 5-cent piece; it should have been but one-fifth to give true intrinsic proportion. The  $\frac{1}{2}$ - and  $\frac{1}{4}$ -cent pieces have relation, as regards weight, to the 1-cent piece and not to the 5-cent piece.

#### CEYLON TOKENS.

43. The recently published exhaustive works on seventeenth and eighteenth-century tokens, by Messrs. Williamson and Atkins respectively, show the high importance now attached by some collectors to such coins.

Though the issues of the East India Company and the royal coinages may be useful as illustrating the numis-

matic annals of Ceylon, we must look to the Tokens to give most valuable supplementary evidence concerning periods when the regal coinage proved inadequate to requirements, and each token has its story to relate as regards the business arrangements of some firm or individual at some bygone period. Such information would otherwise often be lost to posterity.

The Ceylon tokens were mainly struck in the prosperous times of coffee cultivation. The sum to be paid for a certain fixed task in coffee picking determined the value. This amount was generally 4½d., or about 18 to 19 cents for picking half a cwt. of clean coffee, and a store-woman was expected to do this as a day's work.

The prosperous coffee days of Ceylon are gone, and tea planting flourishes instead. The 12½-cent silver pieces from India, and the 5-cent, 1-cent, and ½- and ¼-cent Ceylon copper coins of the 1870 mintage, and again those of twenty and twenty-one years later, have superseded tokens.

Mr. Atkins in his work gives only five tokens and one countermarked coin for Ceylon.

I obtained in Ceylon, and have in my collection, forty-three varieties of tokens and three kinds of countermarked coins. The incompleteness of any book compiled at home, and without facility of access to local sources of information, is, in this branch of numismatics, very apparent.

In addition to the forty-three English-struck copper Ceylon tokens in my collection, I have several bearing native characters which I do not propose to describe or to include in my list.

The tokens marked \* have been already described in works on Ceylon coins. All the rest are unpublished.



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3



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It may be mentioned that no copper tokens have ever been struck for the Government factories.

1. *Obv.*—A . A . , with line beneath; the whole within a dotted circle.

*Rev.*—3 ANNAS within a dotted circle, the figure 3 coming above the word ANNAS, and with a line between.

This is in copper, and rather larger than a farthing. Three annas would be equal to  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., or rather more than 18 cents, the price usually paid in Ceylon to a woman for picking half a bushel of clean coffee. This is the only token I met with for Ceylon which had Indian currency inscribed upon it. No evidence as to the firm which struck these tokens was forthcoming.

Weight about 50 grains.

2. *Obv.*—A & B. SCOTT & CO., COLOMBO; a stag's head erased.

*Rev.*—COFFEE STORE . 1859; an elephant standing on a scroll. [Pl. IX. 1.]

A brass token well executed. For a description of this token and information respecting its issue see note to the following one, No. 3, issued by the same firm.

Weight about 126 grains.

3. *Obv.*—ALSTONS, SCOTT, & CO., COLUMBO; a long ornamental scroll.

*Rev.*—Blank. A lead token elliptical in shape.

The brass tokens of this old Ceylon firm (No. 2, as above described) were struck in 1859 by Messrs. Ralph Heaton and Sons, to the order of Messrs. A. and B. Scott & Co., at that time occupying the Borella Mills, Ceylon,

which were pulled down in 1883. In 1871 Mr. Binny Scott retired from the firm, selling his business to Messrs. Alstons, Scott, & Co., who took over the brass tokens then remaining, and used them concurrently with their own leaden ones, as issued for the Hunupitiya Mills, opposite the Circular. These mills at that time employed about 50 men and 600 women and children.

The tokens, paid daily, were redeemable every Saturday, the brass one representing 6d. before the change of currency and issue of the copper cent series of 1870, but afterwards 25 cents, and the leaden one similarly  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., or  $18\frac{1}{2}$  cents.

It cannot be ascertained precisely in what year the leaden tokens (No. 3) were issued, but the firm was founded in 1843, and it is supposed that these tokens were issued about five years afterwards, namely, in 1848.

A good woman-picker could earn about four of the 6d. tokens in a week. The tokens were issued when the bag of clean picked coffee was given in, and were redeemable by current regal coinage on their being presented.

The spelling *Columbo*, as on the lead token, indicates that it must have been struck quite forty-five years ago.

At the present date there is only sufficient coffee produced in Ceylon to keep a few of the old mills partially employed. Tea cultivation has taken the place of that of coffee, and the old coffee-mills have been for the most part pulled down or converted to other purposes, such as pressing cinchona and balking and packing tea and cocoa.

The weight of the lead token is about 72 grains.

4. *Obv.*—G. B.

*Rev.*—Blank.

A well-struck copper token. This must have been issued by some firm at Kandy, for I met with several specimens there, and none at any other place in the island. Its workmanship indicates that it was struck in England, and it is nearly as large as our bronze penny, but much thinner. I could learn nothing about it from local inquiries. It was presumably a token of the coffee-picking days.

Weight about 124 grains.

5. *Obv.*—C. P. C.

*Rev.*—Blank.

A copper token larger than a farthing, acquired at Colombo. The C. P. C. is within a beaded circle, and there is also a beaded circle on the reverse. This token is well struck, doubtless minted in England, and is of the coffee-picking days; but I am unable to trace the name of the firm which issued it.

Weight about 94 grains.

6. *Obv.*—CAREY STRACHAN & CO. \* COLOMBO  
UNION MILLS \*.

*Rev.*—1.

A copper token of about the size of a bronze penny. These tokens were struck in England about the year 1873, and represented 17 cents each.

The Union Mills, now the property of Messrs. Carey, Strachan & Co., formerly belonged to Messrs. MacLachlan & Mackenzie, who became insolvent in 1869 or 1870. They are situated in Union Place, Slave Island, Colombo.

The weight of this token is about 175 grains.

7. *Obv.*—COLPETTY | MILLS, | in two lines.

*Rev.*—LEE, HEDGES, & CO., 1867; a tea-plant.

A well-struck copper token minted in England.

The Colpetty Mills, near Colombo, formerly employed about 1,000 hands, and the value of the tokens issued in 1867 was  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. each, or about the pay of a day's work for a woman.

The weight is about 118 grains.

The token next following was also issued by the above-named firm.

8. *Obv.*—DEMATTAGODDE . MILLS'; a foliate star within a wreath of tea-leaves.

*Rev.*—LEE, HEDGES, & CO., 1876; a tea-plant.  
[Pl. IX. 2.]

These mills are now closed. They employed about a thousand hands in the old coffee-picking days. The value of this token was  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. or  $18\frac{1}{2}$  cents. It is well struck, of yellow brass, and the dies were designed in England.

The property is at present called Vavasseur & Co.'s Mills, and is in Dean's Road, Maradana.

Weight about 134 grains.

9. *Obv.*—G. & D., with a numeral underneath.

*Rev.*—Blank.

Rather a poorly struck copper token of the coffee-picking times, acquired at Colombo. I am unable to identify the firm which issued it.

It is rather larger than a farthing and weighs about 96 grains.

10. *Obv.*—D. V. G. between two lines and within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—4½d. within a beaded circle.

This token was issued by D. V. Gunaratne, a native coffee dealer of Dam Street, Colombo, about the year 1869. It was probably struck in England, and is an ornamental piece rather smaller than a halfpenny.

Weight about 64 grains.

11. *Obv.*—J. P. G. within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—4½d. within a beaded circle.

This copper token is of similar design to the last. It was issued by Messrs. J. P. Green & Co., of Colpetty Mills, Colombo, in 1858, and was struck in England.

As in other cases, the 4½d. represents 18½ cents, which is the price paid for picking half a hundredweight of clean coffee.

Weight about 55 grains.

12. *Obv.*—COLOMBO \*; JPJ within two circles, the outer one beaded.

*Rev.*—Cents \*; 19 within inner linear circle, the outer one beaded. [Pl. IX. 3.]

This very neat copper token was struck in England for Mr. James Perera Jayatilleka, who had a store in Dam Street, Colombo, and retired in 1880.

The date of issue of the token was 1876, and it represents about the usual price paid for picking half a bag of clean coffee.

Weight about 64 grains.

13. *Obv.*—K. D. & Co. in monogram within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—An elephant within a beaded circle.

This copper token is bored for suspension.

The letters on the obverse stand for Keir, Dundas & Co., and the token was issued for the St. Sebastian Mills, Colombo (opposite side of the canal to the Ceylon Company's mills).

This with the two following specimens was designed by Captain C. E. H. Symons, late R.A. All three were struck in London in the year 1866.

They were tariffed at the usual value, viz., 4½d. or 18½ cents.

Weight about 111 grains.

14. *Obv.*—K. D. & Co. in monogram within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—A ship in full sail to left, within a beaded circle.  
[Pl. IX. 4.]

Struck by the same firm of Keir, Dundas & Co., for the Smallpass Mills, Colombo. [See notes to No. 13.]

Weight about 111 grains.

15. *Obv.*—K. D. & Co. in monogram within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—A tortoise within a beaded circle. [Pl. IX. 5.]

This token is bored for suspension.

It was used at Uplands Mills, Mutwall, Colombo, where the celebrated tortoise is, and is said to have been for some centuries past. The grounds are known to the natives as "Arma Tortuni," or *Tortoise Gardens*.

This is a beautifully struck token, equal to the two

preceding ones; it is of the same nominal value and was issued under similar conditions.

Weight about 111 grains.

16. *Obv.*— $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} L \\ A \text{ (number)} \\ 9 \end{array} \right.$

*Rev.*—Blank.

Struck for the Hultsdorf Mills, Ceylon. An extremely thin tin token in use about the year 1855, and discontinued in the year 1872.

Each of these tokens represented 9d., and was given for the picking of a hundredweight of coffee.

The number stamped on the reverse was a check against fraud.

There was often, but not always, a rough hole for suspension.

About the size of a penny. Weight 23 grains.

17. *Obv.*—HULTSDORF MILLS, COLOMBO, CEYLON;  
a Ceylon boat with spreaders under sail.

*Rev.*—G. W. L. in ornamental monogram. [Pl. IX. 6.]

A token made of red vulcanite, executed in England and introduced at the Hultsdorf Mills in 1872.

It is well designed and struck. It represented the price paid for picking a hundredweight of coffee at the greatly reduced rate of 25 cents a hundredweight. The use of these curious tokens was discontinued in 1891, and they are now very rarely met with, but I am told that they have been occasionally used by Moorish gamblers as chess-men for their peculiar chess-boards.

Weight about 66 grains.



18. *Obv.*—M. M.

*Rev.*—A wheel.

A roughly struck thin token of about the size of a bronze penny.

Said to have been issued by the firm MacLachlan, Mackenzie & Co., of Colombo, which became insolvent in 1870.

Weight about 136 grains.

19. *Obv.*—S. & Co. between ornamental scrolls.

*Rev.*—AMBEWATTE MILLS, 1877.

Issued by Sabonadière & Co., to whom the mills belonged in 1877. They have since, in the year 1884, during the coffee crisis, passed to Messrs. Cumberbatch & Co. The token is of copper and finely struck, and represents  $18\frac{3}{4}$  cents.

Prior to 1877 the firm of Sabonadière & Co. used paper chits instead of these tokens. Mr. F. R. Sabonadière, head of the firm, designed the token, and the striking was done at Birmingham.

Weight about 90 grains.

20. *Obv.*—S. & Co. between ornamental scrolls.

*Rev.*—MADDEMA MILLS, 1877.

A white metal token, issued by Sabonadière & Co., under the same conditions as the last named (No. 19), and of the same nominal value, viz.,  $18\frac{3}{4}$  cents; it is also similar in design. These tokens disappeared from use in the coffee crisis of 1884.

These mills passed to the ownership of Messrs. Cumberbatch & Co.

Weight about 82 grains.

21. *Obv.*—J. M. ROBERTSON & CO. ⚔ COLOMBO ⚔ ;  
hole bored in centre for suspension, and letters  
O Y and O Y placed crosswise around the hole.

*Rev.*—A broad belt of very elaborate scroll-work between beaded circles.

These copper tokens were issued about the year 1868 for the Oil-yard Mills, situated in Slave Island, Colombo. The mills employed about one thousand hands. Each token represented  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., or  $18\frac{3}{4}$  cents, being the amount paid at that time for picking  $\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. of clean coffee.

Messrs. Robertson had the tokens supplied from England by their London agents.

The reasons for the issue of these tokens were the scarcity of copper coins and the complicated nature of the Ceylon currency at that period. They went out of circulation as soon as the copper Ceylon coinage of 1870 was fully established.

They are of about the size of the bronze penny, and weigh about 164 grains.

22. *Obv.*—J. M. ROBERTSON & CO. ⚔ COLOMBO ⚔ ;  
a hole bored in centre for suspension, and letters  
V M and V M crosswise around the hole.

*Rev.*—A broad belt of very elaborate scroll-work between beaded circles.

This token was issued, like No. 21, about the year 1868, and is very similar to it in design. The initials around the central hole stand for Vauxhall Mills, which were erected in Vauxhall Street, Slave Island, Colombo.

The remarks on the token issued by Messrs. Robertson for the Oil-yard Mills apply generally to this also.

Of about the size of the bronze penny, and weighing about 164 grains.

23. *Obv.*—D. P. P. & Co. between two lines with a dot in centre of each line.

*Rev.*—19 CENTS with line beneath.

A well-struck token with beaded circle on both sides, and in size rather smaller than a bronze halfpenny.

It may have been issued by the firm, David Perera Perera, of Colombo, about 1865, but this identification is uncertain. The specimens which I have come to me from Colombo.

Weight about 64 grains.

24. *Obv.*—G. R. P. & Co. between two lines with dot in centre of each line.

*Rev.*—4½d.

A well-struck copper token with beaded circles at margin on each side; evidently issued before the copper 5-cent coinage of 1870. It was acquired by me with two other specimens at Colombo, but the initials cannot be identified from local inquiries.

Size rather larger than a farthing and of weight about 60 grains.

- \*25. *Obv.*—COFFEE PICKER'S CHIT, over a bust to left, uncrowned, of Queen Victoria.

*Rev.*—PILO FERNANDO \* COLOMBO \*; in centre, 4½d. [Pl. IX. 7.]



This well-struck round copper token is described by Mr. Atkins, p. 199, No. 99.

It must have been issued prior to the 5-cent coinage of 1870, and was probably made in England.

These Portuguese and native establishments are very difficult to trace now, as the names are far more common than the names of English firms, and the establishments usually of less prominence. I was told by Portuguese and natives that Messrs. Pilo Fernando had mills at Slave Island, Colombo, which were pulled down about the year 1872, but my informants could give me no details.

Weight about 70 grains.

\*26. *Obv.*—COFFEE PICKER'S CHIT over a bust to left, uncrowned, of Queen Victoria.

*Rev.*—PILO FERNANDO  COLOMBO  ; in centre, 2½d. [Pl. IX. 8.]

This copper token, which is of oblong shape, is described by Atkins, p. 199, No. 100. There is, however, the error of 2½d., instead of 2¼d.—the marking on the token being for half the value of the one previously described (No. 25).

The oblong shape was doubtless sensibly adopted in order that natives might the more easily understand the payment as given them for picking half a bag or a quarter of a bag of coffee; Nos. 25 and 26 being intended respectively to cover such quantities of work.

See general notes to No. 25, which apply to this token also.

Weight about 62 grains.

27. *Obv.*—POLWATTY | MILLS in two lines.

*Rev.*—Blank.

A copper token about the size of a penny, but not so thick.

These chits were issued at Polwatte Mills in 1842, at the valuation of  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. each, but when the currency of Ceylon was changed, in 1870, from sterling to rupees and cents, the value was fixed at  $18\frac{3}{4}$  cents.

Polwatte Mills were demolished in 1886, after the coffee failure, and the tokens marked Polwatty Mills were then transferred for use at the Cotanchena Coffee Mills, employing five hundred and fifty hands, and also the property of Messrs. Baker and Hall.

The weight of this token is about 127 grains.

\*28. *Obv.*—CEYLON COMPANY LIMITED \*; an elephant within a circle.

*Rev.*—ST. SEBASTIAN MILLS; A within a circle.

Described by Mr. Atkins, p. 199, No. 98, with the note that this and the two following may have been intended for farthing, halfpenny, and penny respectively. This was not so, however, as the tokens represented payments for picking certain fixed quantities of coffee, and were redeemable on Saturdays by actual cash as allowed for the quantities to which each referred; thus, the A token is said to have represented  $2\frac{1}{4}$ d., for a quarter bag (about  $\frac{1}{4}$  cwt.); the B token was  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., being for half a bag, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  cwt.; and the C token for 9d., or a full bag, or 1 cwt.

These tokens were struck in London about the year 1866, for use at the St. Sebastian Mills, by Messrs. Maclure, Macdonald & Macgregor. They are well designed and struck. I am told that about twenty years ago specimens of each were exhibited by Mr. Charles Bischoff, at a meeting of the London Numismatic Society.

The St. Sebastian Mills at the time of issue employed

about one thousand five hundred hands. The site of these important mills being San Sebastian Hill, Maradahu, Colombo.

Weight about 54 grains.

\*29. *Obv.*—CEYLON COMPANY, LIMITED; an elephant within a circle.

*Rev.*—ST. SEBASTIAN MILLS; B within a circle.

The general notes under the preceding token A (No. 28) apply also to this. Token B is double the weight of token A, and represents double the amount or quantity of coffee-picking performed.

Weight about 108 grains.

\*30. *Obv.*—CEYLON COMPANY, LIMITED \*; an elephant within a circle.

*Rev.*—ST. SEBASTIAN MILLS; C within a circle.  
[Pl. IX. 9, *Obv.*]

The general notes under token A of this set (No. 28) apply also to this.

Token C is nearly four times the size of token A, and nearly double the token B, and was issued for quantities of work accordingly.

Weight about 195 grains.

31. *Obv.*—C. S. & Co. within a beaded circle.

*Rev.*—GALLE within a beaded circle.

This copper token is rather larger than  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. It is well struck and of English mintage.

At first I thought that it must have been issued by Messrs. Clarke, Spence & Co., of Galle, but on inquiry

of the representatives of that firm I found this was not the case.

I subsequently ascertained that it was struck for Messrs. C. Shand & Co., and used by them until they became bankrupt in 1875, after the failure of Alexander Collie & Co., of Manchester.

It represented the usual price paid for picking half a bag of clean coffee.

Weight about 54 grains.

32. *Obv.*—THE COLOMBO COMMERCIAL CO., LIMITED  
\* 1876 ; a tea-plant.

*Rev.*—SLAVE ISLAND MILLS ; an orange within a wreath of orange-leaves.

A very neat and well-struck copper token. It represented in specie 3 fanams or  $18\frac{1}{2}$  cents.

The design was made in the Ceylon offices of the Colombo Commercial Company, and only 500 specimens were struck, the minting taking place in England. The site of these mills is in the Lake Road.

Weight about 122 grains.

33. *Obv.*—COLOMBO | TATHAM, & CO., | CEYLON, in three lines, and with ornamental scrolls between the lines and beaded margin.

*Rev.*—SUDDUWELLE | MILLS, in two lines between ornamental scrolls.

An extremely well-struck copper token, larger than a bronze halfpenny. The mills are said to have been at Slave Island, Colombo, and the tokens were doubtless issued under the usual conditions and circumstances.

Weight about 134 grains.

34. *Obv.*—MARANDHAN STORE, COLOMBO, CEYLON;  
a mill building with J<sup>AS</sup> SWAN & CO. above  
and date 1856 below.

*Rev.*—Precisely similar to obverse.

A very finely-struck copper token of about the size of a bronze penny.

The firm has long disappeared, and I can get no particulars regarding it, nor have I ever found a second specimen.

Weight about 162 grains.

35. *Obv.*—GEORGE STEUART & CO., CEYLON 1843;  
around four circles.

*Rev.*—WEKANDE MILLS, with Singhalese characters;  
two women at work; around, two circles.

A beautifully executed copper token, about the size of the bronze penny. The coin above described, although dated 1843, more lately superseded copper countermarked pieces issued at that date and subsequently. In fact, this finely-struck token was not itself issued until 1881, after all the countermarked coins in use by the firm had been called in. Its value was 4½d., or 19 cents. The countermarked coins will be described in section 36.

When the mills were in their most prosperous days, which was in 1881, there were 1,300 hands employed. The mills are worked now for other purposes, and employ about 350 hands.

The above-named token was designed by Mr. Charles Hendry, manager of the mills.

Weight about 123 grains.



36.—Various copper coins current in Ceylon, countermarked G. S. & Co., which stands for GEORGE STEUART & CO., of WEKANDE MILLS, COLOMBO.


In the year 1843, Messrs. Steuart having then no tokens, countermarked various copper coins. These coins were usually countermarked on both sides with G. S. & Co., but occasionally only one side was so countermarked.

I have specimens as follows with this countermark :—

$\frac{1}{8}$ -rix-dollar (= 1 stiver) (English struck), of 1802; one-stiver of 1815; halfpennies of 1826, 1827, 1845, 1846, 1851, 1852, 1855, 1856, 1858, and 1859; half-farthings of 1828, 1830, 1837, 1839, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1847, 1849, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1856.

The value assigned to the larger countermarked coins, namely, the English-struck stivers of 1802 and 1815, and the halfpennies, was 6d., and the value assigned to the half-farthings as countermarked was 4½d.

No other firm in Ceylon adopted this system of extensive countermarking to the same extent as Messrs. George Steuart & Co., and they used these countermarked tokens for thirty-eight years. Specimens are now very rare.

37. *Obv.*—\* VOLCART BROTHERS  GRANDPASS;  
a neatly cut circular hole for suspension, with  
a circle around.

*Rev.*—Blank.


This is a large circular token, or chit, of copper, about two inches in diameter, but very thin.

It was struck at Winterthur, Switzerland, by order of the Company, about the year 1872.

It was circulated at the value of  $18\frac{3}{4}$  cents, the then equivalent for  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. It is of a form more like a ticket than a token.

The Grandpass Mills employed over 500 hands.

The weight of this token is about 152 grains.

38. *Obv.*—VOLKART BROTHERS  MARADANA MILLS; a neatly cut circular hole for suspension, with a circle marked around.

*Rev.*—Blank.

This large token resembles No. 37, but is of bright brass instead of copper, and much thicker.

Like the former token of this firm, it was struck at Winterthur, Switzerland, about the year 1872, and was also current for  $18\frac{3}{4}$  cents, or  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The Maradana Mills, for which the above token was struck, were the first mills where the firm of Messrs. Volkart Brothers ever cured coffee. It may be added that this firm also owned the Mutwall Mills, but it never struck any special token for them, but used there the tokens struck for Maradana Mills, as above described.

The Mutwall Mills also employed 500 hands.

The weight of the token is 240 grains.

39. *Obv.*—M. W. & Co., within a beaded margin.

*Rev.*— $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., within a beaded margin.

A fine English-struck copper token, rather less in size than the bronze halfpenny.

This token was issued by the firm of Mathes Williams & Co., about the year 1868. Their mills in which the tokens were used were in Dam Street, Colombo.

The token represented the amount due for the specified quantity of clean picked coffee as before described. The mills have long disappeared.

Weight about 63 grains.

40. *Obv.*—J. WALKER & CO. | KANDY, in two lines, with a number on each token. There is a hole for suspension.

*Rev.*—Blank.

A roughly struck brass token in use by Messrs. Walker, Sons & Co. (late John Walker & Co.)<sup>7</sup> of Kandy. It is used by this firm as indicating payment due for time or hours of labour, the firm being one of ironmongers and machinists, and often sending engine-fitters, &c., out to work.

It hardly comes within the range of the old-time Ceylon tokens, but I had better perhaps include it as it is closely allied to these in some respects.

Weight about 82 grains.

41. *Obv.*—G. W. & Co., in ornamental monogram within a beaded margin.

*Rev.*—M in ornamental work.

The G. W. & Co. stands for Messrs. George Wall & Co., the owners of a mill in the coffee-picking days.

The token is English struck and well designed. Mr.

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<sup>7</sup> Messrs. Walker, Sons & Co., of the Colombo Iron Works, The Fort, Colombo, employing 400 hands, are connected with the above-named firm. They make use of a plain brass ticket with a hole in it, as representative of money value for work done by time.

George Wall, now the editor of the *Ceylon Independent* newspaper, was formerly senior partner in the firm.

The copper token, as above described, was given of late years the value  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents, which is  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a rupee, and I am told that this was due to the altered conditions of coinage as brought about by the issue of the copper 5 cent, &c., series of date 1870.

Mr. George Wall kindly informed me as regards the tokens that "they were used, just as in a few other cases in Ceylon, as convenient representatives of the customary day's pay or day's task. They were cashed on Saturdays, and in the meantime had often passed from hand to hand at the value they represented; this was  $4\frac{1}{4}$ d., or its equivalent in rupee currency during the time they were in use."

The token was issued about the year 1866.

Weight about 122 grains.

42. *Obv.*—G. W. & Co., in ornamental monogram within a beaded margin.

*Rev.*—Blank.

This token, struck at the same time as the last described (No. 41), is rather smaller in size than the bronze half-penny.

It was struck in England for the firm of Messrs. George Wall & Co. It had lately only the value of 10 cents, but in the case of this and the preceding token there was an alteration from the original value due to altered currency and changed circumstances of issue.

See the general remarks to No. 41.

Weight about 68 grains.

48. *Obv.*—A capital letter, or two capital letters, the whole alphabet being employed, with a number.

*Rev.*—Blank.

A rough elliptical token in tin, at present in use at the Wellawata Spinning and Weaving Mills, about four miles from Colombo.

Weight about 58 grains.

44. A thick 2-stiver piece (marked 24) of date 1811, countermarked on the reverse with the figure 4, and the same in Singhalese. The surface of the reverse was polished before the countermark was added, which gave a double value to the coin. The side with the elephant and date has not been interfered with.

45. A thick 2-stiver (marked 24) copper piece of the Ceylon Government of a similar type to the last described, with the obverse (elephant side) entirely obliterated and much polished and the figure 3, for 3 stivers, stamped thereon, together with the same in Singhalese. The reverse has not been interfered with.

This and the preceding token were doubtless thus countermarked to give higher value to existing copper coins at the time when small change was scarce.

B. LOWSLEY.





R. 1



R. 2



R. 3



R. 4



R. 5



R. 6



R. 7



R. 8



R.

9



Br. 21



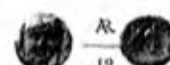
R.

10



R.

11



R.

12



R. 13



R. 14



R. 15



R. 16



R. 17



R. 18



R. 19



R. 20



R. 24



Br.

22



Br.

23



R. 25



R.

26



Br.

28



R.

27



Br.

30



Br.

29



Br.

31

### XIII.

## GRIECHISCHE MÜNZEN.

(TAFEL X.)

I. Obolen der Phoker und Lokrer mit O. II. Tritetartemorion von Pale mit drei T. III. Obolos der Arkader mit OΔ. IV. Hemiobolien von Heraia. V. Die Weintraube das Wahrzeichen von Tenos. VI. Amastris und Sebaste in Paphlagonien. VII. Hemiobolien und Tetartemorien von Kolophon. VIII. Chalkus von Klazomenai und Porträtmünze. IX. Der *δανδροφόρος* auf Münzen von Magnesia. X. Aspendos. XI. Selge. XII. Antiocheia am Kragos.

#### I. BOLEN DER PHOKER UND LOKRER MIT O.

1. S. 10. O|Θ. *Stierkopf* von vorn.

Rs. O links oben. Vordertheil eines *Ebers* linkshin.  
Vertieftes Quadrat.

Gr. 0.94 M. S. *Abgebildet Tafel x. No. 1.*

2. S. 10. Ebenso, mit Θ|O und O.

Gr. 0.92 M. S.

„ 1.01 Brit. Museum, Central Greece S. 18, 48 mit O.<sup>1</sup>

Das O der Rs. steht ohne Zweifel für *ὀβολός*, wie auf den alten Obolen von Sikyon<sup>2</sup> und dem folgenden der opuntischen Lokrer:

<sup>1</sup> O oder C ist eine Form des kurzen O-Lautes, als Differenzirung aus O, der gleichzeitigen Form für den langen O-Laut(ω). Vgl. meine "Beiträge" in der Zeitschr. für Num. i. 1873 S. 142, Knidos No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Monnaies grecques S. 167, 52 und 53; Kat. des Brit. Mus. Peloponnes, S. 36, 5 Taf. vii. 11.



3. S. 10. *Amphora*.

Rs. O in einem der fünf Felder, welche das vertiefte Quadrat nach äginäischem Muster bilden.

Gr. 0.86 Fox, Greek Coins p. i. Taf. ix. 93 "Oea."

„ 0.85 Prokesch-Osten, Inedita 1854.

„ 0.80 J. P. Six.

„ 0.71 M. S. *Abgebildet* Tafel x. No. 2.

„ 0.66 Kat. Walcher de Moltheim Taf. xii. 1746  
"Keos."

Hier kann O zugleich als Initiale von ὀβολός und Ὀποῦς stehen.

Nicht bekannt scheint ein anderer opuntischer Obolos zu sein:

4. S. 10. *Amphora* zwischen OΓ rechts, ON links.

Rs. O  $\wedge$  ( $\wedge$ Οκρῶν) zwischen den acht Strahlen eines Sterns der von einem Linienkreis umgeben ist. Concaves Feld.

Gr. 0.95 M. S. *Abgebildet* Tafel x. No. 3.

## II. TRITETARTEMORION VON PALE MIT DREI T.

## S. 10. Weiblicher Kopf rechtshin.

Rs.  $\sqrt{\text{T}}$  und drei Getreidekörner dazwischen.

Gr. 0.50 (am Rande beschädigt) M.S. *Abgebildet*  
Tafel x. No. 4.

Nach Zahl und Stellung der Getreidekörner könnte man vorerst versucht sein, dieses Münzchen nach Metapont zu geben, wo kleine Kupfermünzen mit dem nämlichen Bilde geprägt worden sind.<sup>3</sup> Allein als Tritetartemorion passt es nicht nach Grossgriechenland wo, bei den Thuriern, das Silber mit drei T 0.28 und mit Γ (5) T 0.47 Gr. wog.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Garrucci, Monete dell' Italia antica, Taf. cvi. 1-6.

<sup>4</sup> Num. Zeitschrift ix. 1877, S. 60/1.

Das Gewicht vollkommener Exemplare der hier beschriebenen Münze musste sich auf Gr. 0·60–0·70 stellen, d. h. auf die Höhe der bekannten Tritetartemorien von Delphoi, Elis, Kranioi, Argos und Mantinea. Das unserige gehört demnach ebenfalls diesem Kreise von Prägstätten mit äginäischen Fusse an, und zwar ohne Zweifel der Nachbarstadt der Kranier, Pale, deren Münztypus für Kupfer ein Getreidekorn, hin und wieder mit einem weiblichen Kopfe combinirt, war.<sup>5</sup>

### III. OBOLOS DER ARKADER MIT ΟΔ.

S. 11. Sitzender *Zeus* linkshin, auf der Rechten ein wegfliegender Adler, die Linke am Scepter.

Rs. Ο▷ vor dem Kopfe der *Artemis* mit Binde und Halsband linkshin. Vertieftes Quadrat.

Gr. 0·65 M. S. "Griechische Münzen" 1890 S. 534 (10) 17 Taf. i. 18.

Die Aufschrift ist nicht ΔΟ wie ich früher vermuthete, sondern ΟΔ zu lesen und steht daher offenbar für ὀδελός, die aiolisch-dorische und arkadische Dialektform für ὀβελός und ὀβολός, die ausser in Arkadien<sup>6</sup> auch in Delphoi, Megara, Kreta, und Taras (ὀδελός, ὀδελόν, ἡμιωδέλιον) nachzuweisen ist.<sup>7</sup>

Dieser Deutung der beiden Buchstaben steht das leichte Gewicht der Münze nicht entgegen, da bekanntlich, vornehmlich in älterer Zeit, die Ausprägung der Silbermünzen oft eine unregelmässige gewesen, und bei kleineren

<sup>5</sup> De Bosset, Méd. ant. des îles de Céphalonie et d'Ithaque, Taf. i. 11; Kat. Brit. Mus. Peloponnes, Taf. xviii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Bull. de Corr. Hell. xiii. 1889 S. 283, Tempelinschr. von Tegen aus der Wende des 5. zum 4. Jahrhundert vor Chr. Z. 19 ὀδελόν und Z. 24 πρὶν ὀδελόν.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. Meyer, Griech. Grammatik 2. Aufl. 1886 S. 32 § 26; Meister, die griech. Dialekte ii. 1889 S. 205.

Münzsorten die Gewichtschwankungen sehr wesentliche sein konnten.<sup>8</sup>

#### IV. HEMIOBOLIEN VON HERAIA.

1. S. 9. Kopf des *Zeus* mit spitzem Bart rechtshin.  
Rs. E | K unten. Weiblicher *Kopf* linkshin. Vertieftes Quadrat.  
Gr. 0.40 M. S. *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 5.
2. S. 8. Ähnlicher Kopf linkshin.  
Rs. Bärtiger Kopf mit spitzer Mütze rechtshin. Vertieftes Quadrat.  
Gr. 0.36 M. S. Num. Zeitschr. x. 1878 S. 160, 5 *Taf.* i. 24.
3. S. 7. Vs. ebenso.  
Rs. Jugendliches *Brustbild* mit Pulos rechtshin. Vertieftes Quadrat.  
Gr. 0.50 M. S. a. a. O. S. 159, 4 *Taf.* i. 23.
4. S. 8. Ähnlicher Kopf mit Tanie linkshin.  
Rs. ebenso, Quaste an der Spitze des Pulos.  
Gr. 0.50 M. S. *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 6.
5. S. 8. Vs. ebenso, späteren Stils.  
Rs. H | P oder R unten. Kopf des *Hermes* linkshin, mit dem Petasos im Rücken. Vertieftes Quadrat.  
Gr. 0.47 M. S. *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 7.

Die beiden Hemiobolien No. 2 und 3 hatte ich früher Stratos zugetheilt, weil sie Ähnlichkeit mit einem anderen Münzchen, das die Buchstaben  $\Sigma T$  zu zeigen scheint, haben, und weil sie, nach Lambros, in Akarnanien ge-

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<sup>8</sup> Die Gewichte der gut erhaltenen arkadischen Obolen meiner Sammlung variiren von Gr. 1.03 zu 0.68. Vgl. "Griech. Münzen" 1890 S. 535 (11) No. 18 und 19 Tegea.

funden sein sollen. Diese Provenienz kann aber wohl nur für das letztere Stück gelten; denn die anderen zwei gehören zweifellos der obigen Gruppe an und daher nach Heraia, von welcher Stadt bis jetzt aus älterer Zeit bloss Triobolen und Obolen bekannt waren.<sup>9</sup>

#### V. DIE WEINTRAUBE DAS WAHRZEICHEN VON TENOS.

Nachdem ich in den "Griechischen Münzen" 1890 S. 12, 16 und 24 Tafel ii. 9-13 gezeigt hatte, dass für die Insel Tenos eine Prägung alter anepigraphischer Silbermünzen voraussetzen war, und dass diese in einer Gruppe archaischer Münzen mit dem Typus einer eigen geformten Weintraube zu erkennen sei, wurde diese Zutheilung von Svoronos bestritten, indem er die Gruppe für seine Heimatinsel *Mykonos* in Anspruch nahm und der Insel Tenos dagegen die anepigraphischen Münzen mit den zwei Delphinen überliess.<sup>10</sup> Diesem Vorschlage, der bisher nirgends entschiedenen Beifall gefunden, vermag auch ich nicht beizustimmen.


Abgesehen davon dass die Prägungen mit dem Namen von Mykonos eine ältere Silberprägung der Insel weder bedingen noch wahrscheinlich machen, hat man für Tenos als Bild des alten Silbergeldes bloss die Weintraube und nicht Delphine zu erwarten. Es geht dies aus der ziemlich allgemeinen Regel hervor, dass wo auf jüngeren Prägungen ein *Beizeichen* als *Wahrzeichen des Prägorts* auftritt und dieses, vornehmlich für kleinere Münzsorten, gleichzeitig, neben neuen Münzbildern, auch noch als Typus verwendet wird, dieses Beizeichen auf den alten Münztypus schliessen lässt. Als Beispiele hierfür nenne

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. "Monnaies grecques" S. 189-198.

<sup>10</sup> Bull. de Corr. Hell. xvii. 1893 S. 476 ff.

ich die Münzen von Selinus, Aigai, Edessa, Ephesos, Phokaia, Side, Kyrene u.s.w., deren älteste Typen Eppichblatt, Ziege, Biene, Seehund, Granatapfel, Silphium auf späteren Prägungen nicht nur wieder als Münzbilder, sondern besonders häufig als blosse Beizeichen neben neuen Typen erscheinen. Diesen Beispielen reiht sich nun mit der Weintraube, und nicht mit Delphinen wie Svoronos will, Tenos an,<sup>11</sup> unter anderen mit der folgenden seltenen Münze:

1. S. 27. Kopf des jugendlichen *Zeus Ammon* mit Widderhorn und Lorbeer rechtshin.

Rs. THN|Ω[N] rechts. *Poseidon* mit nacktem Oberkörper linkshin thronend, auf der Rechten den Delphin, mit der Linken den Dreizack haltend; unter den Füßen Schemel. Vor dem Gotte die *Weintraube* und zwischen den Füßen des Thrones . Perlkreis.

Gr. 14·20 M. S. *Abgebildet Tafel x. No. 8.* Aus der Sammlung Photiades Pascha, Katal. 1890 Taf. viii. 1419.

Ein ähnliches Stück der Pariser Sammlung, ohne Symbol noch Monogramm, haben Pellerin<sup>12</sup> und Mionnet<sup>13</sup> publicirt. Sestini erklärte das Stück für ein Tetradrachmon des Lysimachos, dessen Rs. ein Fälscher umgearbeitet habe.<sup>14</sup> Mit dieser Behauptung stimmen indessen weder das Rückseitebild der Lysimachosmünzen mit dem Alexanderkopfe, das nicht Zeus wie Sestini sagt, sondern die

<sup>11</sup> Die tenischen Drachmen und Kupfermünzen des 4. und 3. Jahrhunderts vor Chr. zeigen alle die Weintraube als Typus vgl. Kat. Brit. Museum S. 127/8 Taf. xxviii. 11–20. Die Poseidonattribute Dreizack und Delphin sind Typen der späteren Zeit.

<sup>12</sup> Recueil iii. Taf. cxiii. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Descr. ii. 329, 138.

<sup>14</sup> Lettere cont. v. 33, 3.

sitzende Athena darstellt, noch das selbst für ein sehr vernutztes Exemplar allzu reducirte Gewicht von Gr. 11·36 (statt 17). Nach Pellerins Abbildung zu urtheilen ist das Pariser Exemplar entweder ächt aber schlecht erhalten, oder, wenn falsch, nach einem wahrscheinlich verlorenen Original gegossen.

Die gleichzeitigen Halbstücke mit dem stehenden Poseidon und etwa 7 Gr. Gewicht sind weniger selten. Die zehn mir bekannten Exemplare sind von verschiedenen Stempeln und sie zeigen ohne Ausnahme das alte Wahrzeichen von Tenos, die Weintraube, als Symbol.

Hier noch eine neue Varietät einer Drachme der älteren Gruppe:

2. S. 16. Bärtiger Kopf des *Zeus Ammon* mit Widderhorn und Lorbeer rechtshin.

Rs. T|H *Weintraube* mit Blatt rechts; links ein *Thyrsos* mit krummem Stab.

Gr. 3·35 M. S. *Abgebildet* Tafel x. No. 9.

## VI. AMASTRIS UND SEBASTE IN PAPHLAGONIEN.

Wenn Professor Ramsay S. 453 (vgl. S. 440) seiner "Historical Geography of Asia Minor" sagt, ich halte Sebaste für einen Namen von Kytoros, während es sich nach den von mir angeführten Thatfachen vielmehr herausstelle, dass jener Name für wenige Jahre blosser *Titel der Stadt Amastris* gewesen sei, so kann dies nur auf der völlig verkehrten Auffassung der betreffenden Stelle meiner "Griechischen Münzen" 1890 S. 71 und 72 beruhen.

Im Gegensatze zu Ramsays Behauptung hatte ich gerade darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die auf einer einzigen Münze von Amastris vorkommende Aufschrift

CEBACTH nicht als Beinamen der Stadt, sondern wahrscheinlich als derjenige der dargestellten Nike,<sup>15</sup> der römischen Victoria Augusta (s. unten No. 1),—ähnlich wie der nur als Beischrift der dargestellten Stadtgöttin vorkommende Name AMACTPIC zur Bezeichnung der Τύχη Ἀμαστριανῶν,<sup>16</sup>—aufzufassen sei, und ferner dass auf Münzen die Stadt Amastris den einzigen Titel μητρόπολις, und diesen bloss zu Traians Zeit, führte. Dass ausserdem von der Zeit Domitians bis Gordians ausnahmslos mit dem einfachen Einwohnernamen im Genetiv, AMACTPIANΩΝ, geprägt wurde, durfte ich stillschweigend als bekannt voraussetzen.

Ebenso hatte ich constatirt, dass von der Sebaste genannten Stadt Münzen mit CEBACTH aus der Zeit Traians (als zu Amastris mit AMACTPIANΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ geprägt wurde) und, wenn richtig gelesen, mit CEBCTH (so) ΜΗΤΡΟ. ΠΑΦ. aus derjenigen M. Aurels bekannt sind.

Auch die Aufschriften seiner Münzen pflegte Sebaste so zu setzen wie zwei andere paphlagonische Städte: Pompeiopolis die mit den Bildnissen der Kaiser M. Aurel und Severus und ihrer Frauen und der constanten Form ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ nebst dem Titel μητρόπολις oder μητρόπολις Παφλαγονίας prägte, und Germanikopolis die

<sup>15</sup> Sollte diese Beziehung zu Nike nicht zugegeben werden, so bliebe für die Münze *Amastris Sebaste* die nämliche Erklärung übrig, wie für die ungefähr gleichzeitige *Amastris Amisos*, nämlich als Homonoiamünze.

<sup>16</sup> Mus. Sanclementi i. S. 140 Taf. vi. 8, wo CEBACTH ebenfalls auf Nike bezogen wird; Mionnet ii. 392, 28 und 395, 50; Kat. Brit. Mus. S. 86, 17–19 Taf. xx. 5 und 6; Löbbecke, Zeitschr. für Num. x. Taf. iii. 5. Ueberall steht AMACTPIC als Beischrift zu der stehenden oder sitzenden Stadtgöttin oder ihrem Brustbilde, und nie als Name der Amazone oder Königin Amastris.

den Stadtnamen ebenfalls im Nominativ zeigt, wo sie den Titel ἀρχ. μητρόπολις führt.<sup>17</sup> Mit den Münzaufschriften von Amastris haben diejenigen von Sebaste dagegen nichts gemein, und es wäre geradezu absurd anzunehmen, dass Amastris, gleichzeitig mit den bekannten zahlreichen Münzen mit ΑΜΑΚΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, zuerst einmal unter Traian, und dann plötzlich wieder etwa 60 Jahre später, solche mit dem Namen Sebaste ausgegeben hätte.

Nach diesen Wiederholungen zu denen ich mich genöthigt gesehen, scheint mir die Berechtigung fortzubestehen, Sebaste und Amastris als *verschiedene* Städte auseinander zu halten, und wenigstens als *Möglichkeit* auszusprechen, dass Sebaste, *wenn* an der Küste gelegen, beim alten Kytoros zu suchen sei. Mehr als dies hatte ich auch früher nicht gesagt.

Mit der Aufschrift Νίκη Σεβαστή (Victoria Augusta) ist zur Zeit Traians zur Feier eines seiner Siege die folgende unedirte Münze in Amastris geprägt worden.

1. Br. 24. AVT. NE. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ  
Σ . . . . . Brustbild des Kaisers mit Strahlenkrone und Gewand rechtshin.

Rs. [NE]IKH links, CEBACTH rechts. Schreitende Nike linkshin, mit beiden Flügeln sichtbar, Kranz in der Rechten und Palmzweig in der Linken; im Felde links AA (für AMA.).

Brit. Museum, Elaiusa Sebaste zugetheilt.

Aus derselben Zeit ist eine kleinere Münze ohne Kaiserporträt, die auf der Rs. die Aufschrift ΜΗΤΡΟ. und das Monogramm AMA. zeigt.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Griech. Münzen S. 66 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Griech. Münzen S. 62, 85 Taf. v. 11. Das Pariser Exemplar zeigt die Sigmaform C.



Als Münzen von Sebaste mit dem Titel *μητρόπολις Παφλαγονίας* sind zwei verschiedene veröffentlicht worden:

2. Br. 20. AVT | OKPATO. | CEBACTΩN. Die sich zugekehrten bärtigen Brustbilder des M. Aurelius r. und L. Verus linkshin, mit Gewand.

Rs. CEBCTH (so) MH | TPON. ΠΑΦ. Stehende *Athena* linkshin, die Nike auf der Rechten, die gesenkte Linke an Schild und Speer.

Sestini, *Lettere cont.* v. S. 35, 4 Taf. i. 6.

Mionnet Suppl. iv. 571, 114.

Butkowski, *Revue Num.* 1883, 380 Taf. ix. 12, mit angeblich Commodus und M. Aurelius und ΜΗΤΡΟΠ. ΑΡ.

Ders. Petit Mionnet, S. 78.

Das zuletzt citirte Exemplar befindet sich jetzt in der Sammlung Löffbecke. Nach dem mir vorliegenden Abgusse ist auf der gut erhaltenen aber rohen Münze CEBCTH MH | TPON. ΠΑΦ. zu lesen; der letzte Buchstab ist aber ohne Zweifel für ein schlecht geformtes φ zu halten.<sup>19</sup>

3. Br. 30. CEBCTH. ΜΗΤΡΟ. ΠΑΦ. Brustbild der *Tyche* mit Thurmkrone und Schleier rechtshin.

Rs. ANTONINON OYHPON CEBACTOC und im Abschnitt OMONOIA. Die Kaiser M. Aurelius und L. Verus in Toga, stehend und sich die Hand reichend; zwischen ihnen Stern.

Paris. Mionnet iii. 627, 434 mit ΜΗΤΡΟ. ΤΑΡ. (Tarsos) und Suppl. vii. 262 Anm.

Sestini, *Mus. Fontana* i. 105.

Auch auf dieser Münze, die sicher vom gleichen


<sup>19</sup> An die Zuthellung der Münze an Elaiusa Sebaste, die sich auch *μητρόπολις* nannte, ist wegen der Titel dieser Stadt, die sie zur Zeit der Antonine führte, nicht zu denken.

Stempelschneider herrührt wie die vorige, scheint der Endbuchstabe kein klares Phi darzustellen.

Bemerkenswerth ist übrigens noch, dass zu derselben Zeit wie Sebaste, auch *Amasia* Homonoiamünzen mit den stehenden Kaisern prägte.<sup>20</sup>


## VII. HEMIOBOLIEN UND TETARTEMORIEN VON KOLOPHON.

1. S. 8. Kopf des *Apollon* von vorn, mit langen auf die Schultern herabhängenden Haaren und Lorbeer.  
Etwas archaisch.

Rs.  im vertieften Quadrat.

Gr. 0.65 (oxydirt) J. P. Six.


„ 0.44 M. S. *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 10.

2. S. 8. Ähnlich mit .

Gr. 0.52 Brit. Museum, Kat. Peloponnesos 205, 2,  
Taf. xxxvii. 24 "perhaps Sikyon."


„ 0.40 a. a. O. 205, 3.

„ 0.49 Kat. Bompais No. 1422 "Teuthrania?"  
*Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 11.

3. S. 8. Ebenso mit .


Gr. 0.54 Brit. Museum a. a. O. 205, 1.

4. S. 8. Kopf ebenso zwischen zwei Getreidekörnern und  
[K] | O.

Rs.  im vertieften Quadrat.

Gr. 0.45 Berlin, v. Sallet, Zeitschr. für Num. v. 1878,  
102 Taf. ii. 4 "nicht kleinasiatisch."

„ 0.42 Kat. Borrell 1852 No. 148 mit KO, trotz  
dieser Buchstaben Mysien zugetheilt.

5. S. 8. Ebenso, ohne die Buchstaben der Vs, und auf der  
Rs. .

Gr. 0.48 M. S. *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 12.

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<sup>20</sup> Kat. Brit. Mus. Pontos S. 7, 4 und 5.

6. S. 7. Kopf des *Apollon* von vorn, mit lang herabhängendem und gescheiteltem Haar.

Rs.  $\Xi$  im vertieften Quadrat.

Gr. 0·28 M. S. *Abgebildet Tafel x. No. 13.*

„ 0·17 Berlin. Fox, Greek Coins, p. ii. Taf. iii. 39  
 “Teuthrania”; Zeitschr. für Num. v. 102  
 Taf. ii. 5.

7. S. 6. Kopf des *Apollon* von vorn, mit kurzem gescheiteltem Haar.

Rs. ebenso.

Gr. 0 29 M. S. *Abgebildet Tafel x. No. 14.*

8. S. 6. Ähnlicher Kopf, ohne Scheitel und scheinbar mit Lorbeer.

Rs.  $\Xi$  im vertieften Quadrat.

Gr. 0·23 Brit. Mus. a. a. O. S. 205, 4 Taf. xxxvii. 25.

9. S. 6. Ebenso mit  $\Xi$ .

Gr. 0·23 M. S.

„ 0·23 Samml. Gonzenbach St. Gallen.

- 9a. S. 6. Vs. ebenso, ohne Lorbeer, der Kopf etwas rechtshin geneigt.

Rs.  $\begin{matrix} \Lambda & O \\ O & K \end{matrix}$  in den vier Feldern eines vertieften Quadrats.

Gr. 0·18 M. S. (aus Kolophon). *Abgebildet Tafel x. No. 15.*

10. S. 8. Kopf des *Apollon* mit langem Haar und Lorbeer rechtshin.

Rs. Leicht vertieftes viergetheiltes Quadrat, mit • in der Mitte, die Felder in Form von Weintrauben punktirt.

Gr. 0·39 M. S. (aus Kolophon). *Abgebildet Tafel x. No. 16.*

„ 0·35 Mus. Winterthur (aus Kolophon).

„ 0·27 Samml. Gonzenbach.

11. S. 7. Kopf des *Apollon* mit kurzem Haar und Lorbeer rechtshin.  
Rs.  $\overline{\text{E}}$  im vertieften Quadrat.  
Gr. 0·25 M. S.
12. S. 7. Ebenso, mit Symbol hinter dem Kopfe.  
Gr. 0·27 M. S. (aus Kolophon). *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 17.
13. S. 7. Vs. ebenso.  
Rs.  $\overline{\text{E}}$  und links daneben *Getreidekorn* im vertieften Quadrat.  
Gr. 0·30 M. S. (aus Kolophon). *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 18.  
„ 0·25 M. S. (aus Kolophon).  
„ 0·26 Berlin, Zeitschr. für Num. v. 102.
14. S. 7. Ebenso, mit *Cikade* statt Getreidekorn.  
Gr. 0·29 Talbot Ready. *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 19.
15. S. 7. Vs. ebenso.  
Rs.  $\overline{\text{E}}$  und links daneben K ? im vertieften Quadrat.  
Gr. 0·29 Dr. H. Weber.  
„ 0·27 Gonzenbach. *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 20.

Wie von Sallet a.a.O. bereits überzeugend nachgewiesen hat, sind die Monogramme aus HM und TE nicht als Initialen von Ortsnamen, sondern als Werthzeichen für *ἡμιωβόλιον* und *τεταρτημόριον* aufzufassen. Nach dem Peloponnesos gehören die Münzchen aber entschieden nicht und auch nicht nach Mysien, sondern nach Ionien. Denn nicht nur stammen alle in die Sammlungen Gonzenbach, Weber und die meinige gelangten Exemplare ausschliesslich aus Smyrna, sondern zuverlässigen Erkundigungen zufolge stellt sich heraus, dass diese Münzen in der Regel im Gebiete des alten Kolophon und in Gräbern daselbst gefunden werden.

Nach Kolophon weisen die Gruppe auch andere Merkmale als der Fundort: erstens das bisherige Fehlen kleiner Silbermünzen der Stadt für die Zeit des 5. Jahrhunderts vor Chr., zweitens die Buchstaben der Münzen No. 4 und 15 und schliesslich der Münztypus, der Apollonkopf. Auf den bekannten archaischen Münzen Kolophons erscheint dieser, gerade wie auf unseren Hemiolien und ihren Hälften, ursprünglich mit langem, gegen Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts mit kurzem Haar.<sup>21</sup>

Das Gewicht der Serie Kolophonischer Münzen mit Apollonkopf und Lyra im vertieften Quadrat ist dasjenige des persischen Siglos, Gr. 5·60. Als Drachme betrachtet bedingt diese Münze Gr. 0·93 für den Obolos, 0·47 für das Hemiolion und 0·24 für das Tetartemorion. Diesen Ansätzen entspricht die Mehrzahl der in unserem Verzeichnisse angegebenen Gewichte; einzelne Exemplare wiegen mehr, andere ebenso gut erhaltene weniger, was bloss der Unregelmässigkeit zuzuschreiben ist, mit der in älterer Zeit, wie ich schon oben bei dem Obolos der Arkader bemerkt, ebenso wohl kleine als grosse Silbermünzen mitunter ausgebracht wurden.<sup>22</sup>

Auf das Vorkommen *eines* Getreidekorns auf Tetartemorien und von *zweien* auf dem Doppelstück, hat schon von Sallet aufmerksam gemacht. Dieser Art Werthbezeichnung begegnet man auch anderswo, z. B. auf Münzen von Mantinea, wo der Obolos eine, das Triobolon drei Eicheln zeigt,<sup>23</sup> auf Tritetartemorien von Orchomenos

<sup>21</sup> Als No. 9a kann ich in das Münzverzeichnis ein nachträglich erworbenes Tetartemorion einschalten, dessen Aufschrift ΚΟΛΟ jeden Zweifel an der neuen Zuthellung beseitigt.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. *Annuaire de la Soc. franç. de Num.* 1882 S. 92 und 93; *Monnaies grecques* S. 318; *Num. Zeitschr.* xviii. 1886 S. 261, Anm. 34.

<sup>23</sup> *Monnaies grecques* S. 198 ff.

und Pale mit drei Getreidekörnern, und von Thebai mit drei Schildhälften,<sup>24</sup> auf Diobolen von Troizen mit Doppeldreizack und von Eretria mit zwei Weintrauben<sup>25</sup> u.s.w.

## VIII. KLAZOMENAI.

Als Münze mit Werthzeichen ist wohl auch die folgende zu betrachten:

1. Br. 10. Vordertheil eines geflügelten *Ebers* rechtshin.

Rs. K|Λ|A zwischen den Schenkeln eines grossen X.  
Vertieftes Quadrat.

Gr. 1·30 M. S. *Abgebildet* Tafel x. No. 21.

Das X steht offenbar für χαλκοῦς; in Verbindung mit den Initialen des Stadtnamens kann auch, vielleicht beabsichtigt, XAAKoῦς gelesen werden.

Das Münzchen scheint zu der Serie ziemlich später Kupfermünzen zu gehören, die ein vertieftes, meist viertgetheiltes Viereck mit Inschrift des Stadtnamens auf der Rs. zeigen,<sup>26</sup> und ihrem Gewichte nach ein τετράχαλκον darzustellen scheinen.

2. Br. 23. Bartloses *Porträt* mit Königsdiadem rechtshin.  
Perlkreis.

Rs. ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ. Liegender *Widder* rechtshin,  
den Kopf zurückwendend. Pkr.

Gr. 6·62 M. S. *Abgebildet* Tafel x. No. 22.

„ 6·65 „ „ „ x. No. 23.

Vgl. Mionnet iii. 70, 76 und Suppl. vi. 92,  
79 mit angeblichen Augustuskopf; Kat.  
Brit. Museum S. 30, 109/10 Taf. vii. 6.

Die Abbildung dieser Münze im Londoner Kataloge ist

<sup>24</sup> Num. Zeitschr. iii. 1871 S. 362 und 383.

<sup>25</sup> Monnaies grecques S. 181 ff. und 224.

<sup>26</sup> Kat. Brit. Mus. Ionia S. 27 No. 94–99 Taf. vii. 2.

nach einem unvollkommen erhaltenen Exemplare gegeben. Obgleich ich das Porträt nicht zu deuten vermag, ist dasselbe interessant genug, um durch neue bessere Abbildungen die Aufmerksamkeit darauf zu lenken.

Die Münze scheint in die Zeit des Augustus, des *κτιστής* von Klazomenai, zu gehören, das Bildnis einem der gleichzeitigen kleinen Fürsten in Asien.

Mit diesem Kopfe hat ein anderer im Kataloge des Britischen Museums (S. 28, 102/4 Taf. vii. 4) beschriebener nichts gemein; dieser ist auch nicht mit dem Diadem, sondern mit der Tānie geschmückt.

#### IX. DER *δενδροφόρος* AUF MÜNZEN VON MAGNESIA IN IONIEN.

Im Londoner Kataloge der Ionischen Münzen findet man S. 166, 62 Taf. xix. 11 Beschreibung und Abbildung der folgenden Münze:

Br. 33. . . T. KAI. M. AVP. | ANTONINOC. Brustbild des Caracalla mit Lorbeer, Panzer, und Mantel rechtshin.

Rs. ΕΠΙ Γ[Ρ . . .] ΕΙΝΟΝ ΟΝΤΙΚΟΝ und im Abschnitt ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. Unter einer *Tempelfront* mit zwei Säulen das *Dionysoskind* mit vorgestreckten Armen auf der *Cista mystica* sitzend; links vor dem Tempel flammender Altar, vor dem einer der *Korybanten* tanzt.

Die Figur des angeblichen Korybanten, bis auf die Beine beinahe völlig verwischt, ist nach einem anderen, womöglich noch schlechter erhaltenen Exemplare der gleichen Münze anders zu deuten:

Br. 29. Umschrift unleserlich. Brustbild des Caracalla mit Lorbeer und Gewand rechtshin. Gegenstempel mit  $\Gamma$ .

Rs. . . . . KOV und im Abschnitt [ΜΑΓ]ΝΗΤΩΝ.  
Darstellung wie oben, aber links vom Altar ein Mann in kurzem Chiton rechtshin schreitend, mit beiden Händen einen über die linke Schulter gelegten Baum tragend.

München. *Abgebildet Tafel x. No. 29.*

Statt eines Korybanten zeigen also diese Münzen den Baumträger, *δενδροφόρος*, der als selbstständiger Typus magnetischer Münzen bekannt und jüngst von F. B. Baker im Num. Chronicle 1892 S. 89–93 besprochen worden ist, und von dem ich hier auf *Tafel x. No. 30* und *31* die Abbildung zweier Exemplare von Paris mit Gordian<sup>27</sup> und des Britischen Museums mit Otacilia Severa<sup>28</sup> gebe.

Cavedoni und Baker und, vor diesem, Rayet und Thomas<sup>29</sup> haben übereinstimmend dieses Münzbild aus Pausanias x. 32, 6 erklärt, wo berichtet wird, dass zu Hylai bei Magnesia in einer Grotte ein altes Apollonbild gestanden, das ausserordentliche Körperkraft verlieh, und dass die *ίεροι* des Gottes im Springen über steile Abhänge und hohe Felsen Bäume entwurzelten und diese über die schmalsten Pfade trugen.

Aus der Darstellung der oben beschriebenen Münzen möchte man indessen schliessen, dass die Dendrophoren, die ihre Last dem Heiligthume des Dionysos zutragen, auf einen Festbrauch zu Ehren des Dionysos *Δενδρίτης*,

<sup>27</sup> Mionnet iii. 156, 689.

<sup>28</sup> Kat. Ionia S. 173, 99 Taf. xx. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Milet et le golfe Latmique, Paris 1877/85 S. 132/3 mit Abb.



des Gottes der Vegetation, hinweisen.<sup>30</sup> Aus einer Inschrift die S. Reinach veröffentlicht und besprochen hat,<sup>31</sup> ergibt sich auch, dass die Auffindung des Bildes eines Dionysos *ἑνδεδροσ*, etwa im 4. Jahrhundert vor Chr., zu der Gründung und Ausstattung eines berühmten Heiligtums dieses Gottes in Magnesia führte.

#### X. ASPENDOS.

1. S. 11. *Löwenkopf* mit offenem Rachen rechtshin. Pkr.  
 Rs. Kopf der *Athena* rechtshin im vertieften Quadrato.  
 Gr. 0·77 Dr. H. Weber. London. *Abgebildet* Tafel x. No. 24.
2. S. 10. Kopf der *Athena* rechtshin.  
 Rs. *Löwenkopf* linkshin.  
 Gr. 0·90 M. S. *Abgebildet* Tafel x. No. 25.  
 „ 0·72 J. P. Six.  
 „ 0·72 Mionnet vi. 639, 178 und Suppl. ii. 534, 64 und 65 Taf. vii. 7, letztere angeblich mit Λ, auf der Tafel sogar mit AV.
3. S. 10. Ebenso, mit Perlkreis auf der Rs.  
 Gr. 0·65 Schottenstift, Wien.  
 „ 0·65 M. S.
4. S. 10. Ebenso, mit dem Löwenkopf im Perlkreis rechtshin.  
 Gr. 0·60 M. S. *Abgebildet* Tafel x. No. 26.  
 Mionnet Suppl. ii. 534, 63 Taf. vii. 6.

Mionnet hat diese Münzen Lysimachia gegeben, wahrscheinlich auf Grund des Löwentypus und des angeblichen Buchstabens Λ. Nach meinen Beobachtungen kommen sie aber in der Regel zusammen mit pamphyllischen und

<sup>30</sup> Roscher's Mythol. Lexikon i. S. 1059 § 15.

<sup>31</sup> Revue des Études grecques iii. 1890 S. 349–361: Oracle de la Pythie de Delphes adressé à la ville de Magnésie du Méandre.

pisidischen Münzen in den Handel, und da zudem beide Typen, Athenakopf und Löwenkopf, auf den kleinen pisidischen Silbermünzen vorkommen, die Selge zuzuweisen sind,<sup>32</sup> so ist nicht zu bezweifeln, dass auch die obige kleine Gruppe einer pamphyllischen oder pisidischen Stadt angehört. Vielleicht ist diese Aspendos, der bis jetzt nur eine Silbermünze dieser Gattung zugeschrieben werden konnte,<sup>33</sup> und wo der Löwe der Typus eines der älteren Silberstater ist.<sup>34</sup>

# XI. SELGE.

S. 10. Kopf der *Artemis* mit Lorbeer rechtshin; an der Schulter Bogen und Köcher.

Rs. K links. Liegender *Hirsch* rechtshin, den Kopf zurückwendend.

Gr. 1·33 M. S. *Abgebildet* *Tafel* x. No. 27.

Diese Münze ist eine Varietät einer anderen anepigraphischen von Selge.<sup>35</sup> Der Buchstab K, der oft neben dem Hirschtypus selgischer Kupfermünzen vorkommt,<sup>36</sup> bestätigt die Zutheilung.

# XII. ANTIOCHEIA AM KRAGOS.

Die auf Münzen *Ἀντιόχεια τῆς παραλλίου* genannte kilikische Stadt lag am Berge Kragos, zwischen Selinus und Anemurion oder, noch genauer, zwischen Nephelis

<sup>32</sup> Zeitschr. für Num. v. S. 135, 7–17.

<sup>33</sup> Num. Zeitschr. xvi. 1884 S. 276, 112 Taf. v. 15, mit Gorgoneion und Athenakopf nebst ΕΣΤ. Es gibt auch solche Stücke gleichen Stils ohne Aufschrift.

<sup>34</sup> Zeitschr. für Num. v. S. 139, 22 Taf. vi. 8.

<sup>35</sup> Monnaies grecques S. 341, 100 Taf. iii. 105.

<sup>36</sup> Z. B. a. a. O. No. 102.

und Charadra. Ueber die bis jetzt ungenügend beschriebenen Ruinen der Stadt<sup>37</sup> mit ihrer Hallenstrasse und einem Marmortempel stehen nun ausführliche Schilderungen durch die Herren Heberdey und Wilhelm bevor.<sup>38</sup>

Beim Anon. Stadiasmus maris magni (200) und bei Strabon (669) ist der Ort bloss mit dem Namen des Berges, *Κραγός*, angeführt; bei Ptolemaios (V. 8, 2) unter den Städten der Selentis als *Ἀντιόχεια ἐπὶ Κράγῳ*, bei Stephanos Byz. als *Ἀ. Ἰσαυρίας, ἡ Λαμωτὶς λεγομένη*, bei Theophanes (Chron. 119) ebenfalls als Stadt des bis an das Meer reichenden Isaurien, und als *Ἀντιόχεια* ohne nähere Bezeichnung bei Hierokles (709, 3) und in den Not. episc. i. 834, iii. 727 und x. 784. In einem lateinischen Bischofsverzeichnisse wird sie, zur Unterscheidung von Antiocheia am Orontes, *Antiochia parva* genannt.<sup>39</sup>

In Heads Historia Numorum fehlt die Stadt Antiocheia am Kragos. Es sind indessen folgende Münzen von derselben bekannt:

1. Br. AV. KA. | ANTΩNEI | NOC. Kopf des *Pius* mit Lorbeer rechtshin.

Rs. ANTIOXEΩN THC ΠΑΡΑΛΙΟ | V. Stehender *Adler* rechtshin, die Flügel schlagend und den Kopf zurückwendend.

M. S. *Abgebildet* Tafel x. No. 28.

<sup>37</sup> Beaufort, Karamania S. 193; Pourtalès in C. Ritter's Erdkunde, Kleinasien ii. 1859 S. 387.

<sup>38</sup> Bericht über eine Reise in Kilikien, Wien 1891.

<sup>39</sup> Ramsay, Asia Minor S. 452. Eine andere isaurische Stadt *Antiocheia* (a. a. O. S. 381) lag im Innern bei Tschukur am Buzaktsche Tschai, einem Arme des Kalykadnos und hatte seinen Namen erst um 356 nach Chr. erhalten. Bull. de Corr. Hell. ii. 1878 S. 16–22; Davis, Life in Asiatic Turkey 1879 S. 365–368; Sterrett, The Wolf's Expedition 1888 S. 85, 1, Karte.

2. Br. 21. ΦΑΥCTE[Ι|ΝΑ]CΕΒΑC. Brustbild der jüngeren Faustina rechtshin.

Rs. ANT|ΙΟ|ΧΕ|ΩΝ Τ|ΗC ΠΑΡ[A]. *Tempelfront* mit vier Säulen; in der Mitte derselben sitzende *Tyche* mit Thurmkrone linkshin, Ähren? in der Rechten, das Füllhorn im linken Arm.

Mus. Kopenhagen.

Diese Münze ist bei Ramus, Mus. reg. Dan. i. S. 399 abgebildet und in Folge der irrigen Lesung THC Ε.ΤΑΥ. Antiocheia am Tauros in Kommagene zugetheilt.<sup>40</sup> Die Stadt am Tauros ist demnach aus dem Verzeichnisse griechischer Prägstätten zu streichen.

3. Br. 30. . . . . | ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC CΕΒΑCΤΟC. Brustbild des Kaisers mit Lorbeer und Mantel rechtshin.

Rs. [ANT]ΙΟΧΕΩΝ | ΤΗC ΠΑΡΑΛΙΟΥ. Stehender *Adler* von vorn, Kopf linkshin, die Flügel schlagend.

Brera in Mailand. Sestini, Descr. n. v. S. 404 Taf. ix. 9; Mus. Sanelementi ii. S. 94 Taf. xxxii. 348; Mionnet Suppl. vii. 195, 190.

4. Br. 35. . . . [OV]ΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟ . . . Brustbild des Valerianus rechtshin.

Rs. ebenso; der *Adler* hält einen Kranz in den Klauen.

Leake, Num. Hell. Suppl. S. 18.

F. IMHOOF-BLUMER.

Winterthur, August, 1895.

<sup>40</sup> Hiernach Sestini, Classes générales 1821 S. 134, Mionnet Suppl. viii. 84, 4, und Head, Hist. num. S. 653.

#### XIV.

##### FURTHER NOTES CONCERNING BISHOP DE BURY AND THE DURHAM COINAGE.

THE question whether Bishop de Bury ever exercised his right to coin money during his episcopate is still an open one. Papers have been contributed on the subject by Sir John Evans, Mr. L. A. Lawrence and myself respectively. In my own article on "The Durham Pennies of Bishops de Bury and Hatfield" (N.C. 3rd S. vol. xi., p. 164) I stated that for the several reasons therein given, my opinion was that the former bishop did not exercise his undoubted right to coin, although I did not altogether exclude the possibility that he may have done so.

Acting upon a hint kindly given to me by our member, Mr. A. E. Packe, I have carefully examined the documents set forth in the *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense* published in the Master of the Rolls series, and in the fourth volume I have found several entries relating to the Durham coinage. It will be useful, in the first instance, to consider the form in which the reigning sovereign gave the necessary mandate for the delivery of dies to the various bishops on their accession to the see. Under the date 1311 is recorded in the volume referred to (p. 96) an entry which forms part of the "Additamenta ex Arch. Publ. Assumpta" and is addressed to the Barons of the Exchequer.

It runs (with its contractions extended) as follows :—

“ Quia Rex ordinavit et vult quod venerabilis pater R. Dunelmensis episcopus habeat tot cuneos ad monetam de cuneo Regis infra libertatem episcopatus sui praedicti fabricandam quot predecessores sui episcopi loci praedicti hactenus habere consueverunt: Rex mandat Baronibus quod cuneos praedictos praefato episcopo juxta ordinationem suam praedictam habere faciant ad hujusmodi monetam Regis infra libertatem praedictam cudendam et alia facienda quae ad hujusmodi officium pertinent et prout hactenus fieri consuevit. Teste Rege apud Berewycum super Twedam xvi die Junii anno quarto.”

There is no doubt as to the date of this mandate, which was also the date of the first year of the episcopate of Bishop Richard Kellow, in whose favour it was issued.

Again, Bishop Louis Beaumont having succeeded Kellow in 1316, it became necessary, in the tenth year of the reign of Edward II., part of which, at all events, coincided with the first year of the new episcopate, that new dies should be supplied to the bishop. Under that year, accordingly (p. 156), we have in the same *Additamenta* a mandate which was clearly issued forthwith after the accession of the bishop, as it is immediately followed by the usual mandate to the knights, freemen, and tenants of the bishopric, enjoining obedience to the new bishop and by those also which dealt with the liberties of the bishopric and with the occupation of the castle. It runs as follows :—

“ Thesaurario et Baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem. Mandamus vobis quod habere faciatis venerabili patri Ludovico Dunelmensi electo confirmato tres cuneos pro sterlingis monetae nostrae inde faciendum cum omnibus ad cuneos illos spectantibus prout predecessores sui episcopi Dunolmenses cuneos illos habere consueverunt temporibus

retroactis. Salvo nobis inde jure nostro. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium primo die Junii."

Another mandate is of importance. It is given on page 151 of the *Additamenta* and was granted in favour of Robert Sapy, who had been appointed receiver of the episcopal see during the vacancy caused by the death of Kellow; it should therefore be of the year 1316 and not 1317 as stated in the *Additamenta*. It runs as follows:—

"Mandatum est Johanni de Cokermutho custodi cambii Regis Londoniis quod receptis a Roberto Sapy receptore Ricardo Dunolmense vel ejus attornato veteribus ferreis cunei Dunelmensis eidem Roberto vel attornato suo praedicto novos ferreos pro cuneo praedicto liberet sicut hactenus fieri consuevit. Et hoc nullatenus omittat. Teste Rege apud Clipstoniam ix die Jan."

This mandate appears to have been issued at the king's favourite hunting resort at Clipstone, and is in the same form as was usual on the death of one bishop and the accession of his successor.

In 1336 appears a mandate (p. 195 of the *Additamenta*) which is of the highest importance, and which clearly establishes the fact that if Bishop de Bury did not have his dies in that year, he was under the king's directions entitled to receive them, and it would of course, at first sight, appear to be strange indeed if he neglected obtaining them. This mandate reads as follows —

"Thesaurario et Baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem. Mandamus vobis quod habere faciatis venerabili patri Ricardo Dunolmensi episcopo cuneos pro sterlingis mone-tae nostrae inde faciendum cum omnibus ad cuneos illos spectantibus prout predecessores sui episcopi Dunolmenses cuneos illos habere consueverunt temporibus retroactis

salvo nobis inde jure nostro. Teste Rege apud Bothevillam xxvii die Novembris."

It will be perceived that the wording of this mandate is almost identical with that of the similar mandate given in favour of Bishop Beaumont immediately upon his accession to the see, and very similar in terms to that of the mandate granted under similar circumstances to Bishop Kellow and to Sapy, who acted as Receiver *sede vacante*. It may, therefore, be assumed that it was the first mandate in connection with the coinage that was granted in favour of Bishop de Bury, although it was not issued until the second or third year of his episcopate.

On page 258 of the *Additamenta* appears an entry of a mandate apparently granted in 1344, which is probably the one discovered by Noble (supplemented by a similar entry of 1345) and upon which was founded the theory that no dies were ordered to be delivered to the bishop until the last year of his episcopate. It runs as follows:—

"Rex Thesaurario et Baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem. Mandamus vobis quod habere faciatis venerabili patri Ricardo Dunelmensi episcopo tres cuneos pro sterlingis monetae nostrae inde faciendum cum omnibus ad cuneos spectantibus prout predecessores sui episcopi loci praedicti cuneos hujusmodi habere consueverunt temporibus retroactis salvo nobis inde jure nostro. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xvi die Octobri."

The wording of the above mandate is identical with that which was usual in the first grant of dies to the other bishops and is almost identical in terms with the mandate of 1336. One further document is particularly interesting. It occurs on page 425 of the volume from which I have given the preceding extracts and forms part of the "*Excerpta quaedam ad Palatinum Dunelmensem spectantia*;



assumpta e libro quondam in usum Ricardi de Bury Episcopi Dunelmensis tunc temporis regni Angliae Cancellarii ut videtur compilato ; et in manuscripta nunc asservato,"<sup>1</sup> and is headed "De cuneis monetae detentis." The entry contains a copy of a request to one of the bishop's friends to ascertain and to remedy the cause of the detention in London of the dies for the episcopal coinage of Durham ; but it bears no date. It runs as follows :—

" . . . salutem, cum benedictione divinâ, et gratia Salvatoris. Missis nuper Londonias monetae nostrae cuneis more solito emendandis, ministri Domini nostri Regis, ad officium illud deputati, eos ibidem detinent, probationem monetae quae fit infra libertatem nostram fieri Londoniis, ut asseritur, exigentes. Verum quia non constat nobis certitudinaliter an ex illâ causâ vel ex aliâ dicti cunei sint detenti, dilectionem vestram requirimus et rogamus quatinus, causâ propter quam detinentur secretius inquisitâ, liberationem eorundem, caeteris amicis nostris coadjuvantibus, instantius procurantes, utrum assaya monetae quae nostris partibus fabricatur ibidem fieri debeat aut consuevit, an etiam aliunde, aut quid in hac parte consultius fuerit faciendum, cum aliis de nostro Consilio tractatum diligentissimum, si placeat, habeatis. Et si forsan, ad alicujus partis, quae contra nos seu monetam opponit, instantiam vel querelam, iidem cunei fuerint impediti, circa earum liberationem, sicut facti qualitas requisierit, quaesumus laboretis."

From this extract it is clear that my previous suggestion—and it was a suggestion only—that the bishop was not very anxious to exercise his prerogative of coinage, cannot be supported in its entirety.

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<sup>1</sup> The entries under this head are copies (probably made by the bishop's secretaries) of various documents, the originals of which are not known to be now in existence.

It is certain, if the above was actually written by him to his friend in London, that at some period he betrayed a strong desire to receive his dies which had been detained there, and which had been sent thither for the purpose of being "amended."

The complaint of the bishop evidently points to the fact that the detention of his dies had lasted for some substantial period, and he would scarcely, otherwise, have taken so much trouble to secure the assistance of his friends in London in obtaining what, at first sight, were his undoubted rights, and of which, in the ordinary course, he ought to have been put into possession shortly after his accession to the see.

Is it not probable, therefore, that in spite of the mandate of 1336, the dies which had been sent to London on the death of Bishop Beaumont for "emendation" had been detained there and no fresh dies delivered to the new bishop, and that in consequence of his efforts and that of his friends a fresh mandate had been issued in 1344 only, and that if dies were delivered to him at all, they were only so delivered in that or the following year, as already suggested by me in my previous article? It may, of course, be urged that the second mandate makes no reference to the former one. This, however, appears to me to form a strong argument in favour of my contention, as it would be only natural that under the circumstances, the former one should be considered a dead letter; if not, why should a second original mandate not referring directly or indirectly to any previous delivery of dies be necessary at all?

As an alternative to the suggestion above made I may perhaps be permitted to advance a theory which may probably be a more likely one. It is possible, having

regard to the use of the word "emendandis" in the bishop's letter, that the dies struck in accordance with the mandate of 1336 betrayed some irregularity or omission, and they were accordingly returned to the king's officers for "emendation." This on reconsideration appears to satisfy all the doubts in the case. As a matter of speculation only one might further suggest that the omission may have been that of some distinguishing symbol of the bishop, upon the probability of the occurrence of which I am inclined somewhat strongly to insist, if we are to admit that the bishop received and adopted dies for striking his coins at all.

In 1336 and for some time subsequently, as already mentioned by me in my previous paper, the bishop was busily engaged abroad on business for the king. He was despatched on missions to France, Scotland and elsewhere, and so late as the year 1340 we find the king's mandate ordering payment to him of the expenses of such missions.

The king, himself, together with his court and officers, was, as shown by the teste of the mandate, domiciled at Bothwell, and was engaged in the renewal of those wearisome strifes and negotiations with the Scotch, which alternately prevailed in those times.

As a further suggestion, somewhat inconsistent, it is true, with my last, it might be that the mandate was not only never acted upon, but was also, perhaps, never communicated to the bishop.

In one respect it appears to be an imperfect grant and, for that reason, was possibly not carried into effect by the Barons of the Exchequer, inasmuch as it did not mention the number of dies ordered to be delivered. This is remedied by the terms of the mandate of 1344. It is consistent with either of the theories suggested by me that

the bishop's letter to his friends in London was written after 1336, and that the result was the mandate for delivery to him of his dies in 1344 only. As the bishop's death occurred in April, 1345, and the mandate of 1344 is dated in October, there would remain (if there had been no effective delivery of dies previously) less than six months within which he could have struck coins.

According to my reading of the bishop's letter the delay in London was probably caused, as he himself suggests, owing to the suspicions raised in the minds of the Barons of the Exchequer or of the officers of the regal mint that the coins previously struck at Durham had not been of the standard of either purity or weight required by law, and that the necessary assays had not been made.

On the whole, therefore, I think that although the bishop was entitled to his dies, and was at one time anxious to receive them, yet that circumstances so happened that he never so received them as to be able to strike coins until the last year of his episcopate. In coming to this conclusion I have studiously avoided the question whether legal coins, not struck by the bishop himself in his own mint, were issued during his episcopate. I am of the opinion that, in all probability, such an issue may have occurred, and in connection with this point I will now refer to the arguments of Mr. L. A. Lawrence, in his paper on "The Silver Coins of Edward III." (*N. C.* 3rd S. vol. xiii. p. 56).

Mr. Lawrence mentions three coins which, if I rightly understand his argument, he would attribute to a period contemporary with the episcopal rule of Bishop de Bury. He, however, does not insist on the first of these three pieces, which is clearly a regal coin struck for Durham by the royal moneyers, and perhaps one of those issued out

of the royal mint during this episcopate, in accordance with the probability last suggested by me. He seems also somewhat doubtful as to the third piece and therefore bases his argument strongly upon the second piece only, which, as he considers, fulfils certain conditions laid down by him and which piece therefore "must be one of Bishop de Bury's Coinage."

Now, what are these conditions, and on which does Mr. Lawrence chiefly rely? This question I will answer in his own words. There must be an early type of heavy weight, and it should bear some episcopal sign. There can be no question on the subject of the weight, which exceeds 18 grains, and I never doubted but that pennies of London, York, Durham, Reading and Canterbury, of the peculiar type to which he refers, were struck before the year 1351.

Mr. Lawrence divides the coinage of Edward III. into two main series; those issued before 1351 (which he describes as the early type), and those issued afterwards; but when he deals with the peculiar type mentioned as affecting the Durham mint, I find his argument absolutely inconclusive, because the whole gist of it is only that coins of that type, including always the sole Durham piece on which he relied, were struck before 1351. He seems to forget that Bishop de Bury died in 1345, and it is therefore quite consistent with his argument, and with mine as well, that his piece was struck by Bishop Hatfield during the first six years of his rule. That this was the case is probable in the highest degree, inasmuch as the bent crozier was, as we know with absolute certainty, the symbol used on his coinage by the last-mentioned bishop.

Although the date fixed for the commencement of the coinage of the Reading pennies, which are always of this peculiar type, is 1338, such pennies must have been struck

during a period of many years afterwards, and it is certainly not probable that that coinage did not last for seven years at least, and that in that event, coins of the same type were issued from the other mints during those years only. The expiration of that period would bring us to 1345, the first year of Bishop Hatfield's episcopacy. What more natural then, than that that bishop should have struck from dies of the same kind at the commencement of his rule? The rarity of the type so far as Durham is concerned, would suggest, as was probably the case, that it was altered very shortly after Bishop Hatfield's accession to the see. As a matter of fact, Mr. Lawrence himself suggests that the peculiar bust which is the constituent type of this series disappears in the year 1345, and Bishop de Bury died, as before stated, so early as April (practically the first month, according to the old style) of that year. If he be right, the coinage of Bishop Hatfield during some further portion, at all events, of that year might have been of the same type. Personally, however, I think that the type in question prevailed for some time after 1345. If coins of this type had been struck by Bishop de Bury they should certainly occur less rarely. At all events, Mr. Lawrence has in no sense proved to be undoubted that which I have already suggested to be very doubtful, and the question must still be considered to be an open one, although I sympathize with the strong view expressed both by him and Sir John Evans, that Bishop de Bury struck coins in his own mint, and I hope that it may be hereafter proved that he did so.

One fact is salient and of the highest importance, and cannot be neglected in any further discussion that may be raised. The bishops were at all times not only bound for the purposes of the usual assays to distinguish the moneys

struck at the episcopal mint from those issued by the regal mint, but were also naturally anxious for a similar reason, and perhaps also from a sense of their own importance, to distinguish their own coinage from that of their predecessors. Is it consistent with this that the episcopate of Bishop de Bury should be represented in our Cabinets by one or two examples only of a Durham penny bearing no special mark of his own but only the well-known distinctive symbol of Bishop Hatfield?

I must conclude by referring to one little point which may be of greater importance than can be at the present moment assigned to it. As before stated, the regal and episcopal mints were concurrent. This is sufficiently evidenced by the coins themselves. In all the king's mandates before set forth, the expression "*monetae nostrae*" occurs. In the letter from Bishop de Bury to his friends in London, he also refers to "*monetae nostrae*." Can both expressions, one from the mouth of the king, and the other from that of the bishop, refer to the same class of coins? At present, with the imperfect evidence at my command, I can found no logical argument on the subject, but simply mention the fact for what it is worth.

I have thought it well to put the above documentary extracts upon record, with the full consciousness that they and the effects of them may be construed by others in quite an opposite sense to that which I have suggested. Be this as it may, it is due to the cause of truth that such valuable material should be brought to light; and even if it be considered by others that it tends to show that the bishop actually struck coins in his own mint, it has yet to be proved whether any such pieces are still extant, and if so, of what type they are.

H. MONTAGU.

## XV.

### MEDALS OF CENTENARIANS.

EXTREME old age being a subject of considerable hygienic interest, I am sorry that there exist no medals, so far as I know, of hygienists themselves or medical men who have attained the age of one hundred, although at least three such are now living.<sup>1</sup> The following short list, however, of medals of centenarians may be of interest to some collectors. Contrary to the older notion derived from the supposed great age of the patriarchs, that the average duration of human life has diminished, it is the opinion of some modern authorities that the average duration of human life is increasing, and that mankind may look forward to a time when the attainment of one hundred years of age will be quite an ordinary event. Be that as it may, centenarians are very rare nowadays, and their medals still rarer. The following list comprises nevertheless some of the best known of them, namely, Sir Moses Montefiore, Professor Chevreul of Paris, and the Englishman Thomas Parr, though the last one is unfortunately but poorly repre-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. William Salmon, of Penlayne Court, Glamorgan; Dr. Boisy, of Havre; a Greek army doctor named Christaki, receiving a Turkish pension, said to be one hundred and ten years old. Another medical man, Mr. John Ogilvy, of Inshewan, Forfarshire, died in 1894, aged one hundred. Dr. R. Baynes, of Rockland, Maine, U.S.A., is in his hundredth year.



sented. The medals of the French poet Fontenelle are likewise included, though he died before completing his hundredth year.<sup>2</sup> The centenarians in the following list are arranged in the chronological order of their births, and the following somewhat legendary person must therefore take precedence.

APOLLONIUS TYANEUS, the Pythagorean philosopher, is said to have been a centenarian. The story of his life, as given by Philostratus the Athenian, is fabulous, and his reputation depends chiefly on the miracles which he was reputed to have performed, and on a parallel which some authors have drawn between him and Jesus Christ. He is said to have been born at Tyana, in Cappadocia, about the year 4 B.C., and to have died at Ephesus about 97 A.D. The following Roman "contorniate medallion" bears his portrait.

*Obv.*—APOLLONIVS TFANEVS (*sic*). His bust clothed in paludamentum, with bearded laureate head to right.

*Rev.*—FLIANE. A victor in the chariot race, holding a whip and palm-branch, and standing in a quadriga facing; the four horses of the quadriga have their heads adorned with palm-branches. In the exergue, NICA.

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<sup>2</sup> Of all persons commemorated by medals the great painter Titian (1477-1576) in length of life probably ranks next to those whose medals are here described. He died of the plague at Venice on the 27th August, 1576, in his ninety-ninth or one hundredth year. In addition to various later medals there exist two *cinque-cento* Italian medals bearing Titian's portrait, one by Leoni Leoni (Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, vol. i., p. 166, No. 21), and the other by Pastorino (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 208, No. 122). A specimen of the latter is in the British Museum.

Diam. : 1·6 inches ; bronze contorniate medallion, figured by J. Sabatier, *Description générale des Médaillons Contorniates*, Paris, 1860, Pl. VI., No. 1.

The so-called "contorniate medallions" are of poor execution, and probably made in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. in the Western Empire. They are mostly cast and derive their name from the sunken border line which they often have inside a projecting rim, always forming an exact circle. The portrait of Apollonius of Tyana on one of these contorniate medallions is of some interest in considering their probable purpose. Pinkerton suggested that they were entrance tickets for the circus ; Fr. Lenormant thought that some at least of them were made to be sold at the entrance of the circus, as having some magical power to bring good luck on the jockey or charioteer backed by the purchaser. More recently M. W. Froehner has endeavoured to show that they were used as draughtsmen ; in which case they would be analogous to the stamped medal-like wooden draughtsmen so much used in Germany in the seventeenth century. The existence of the above-described piece with the portrait of the miracle-working sage on the one side, and the victorious charioteer on the other, can be used in support of F. Lenormant's theory ; it can, however, likewise be reconciled with M. Froehner's view.

THOMAS PARR, a Shropshire peasant, is said to have attained the fabulous age of 152. In 1635 he was brought to London by Lord Arundel and presented to King Charles I., but died the same year in Arundel House, Strand, and was buried in "Poets' Corner," Westminster Abbey. A *post-mortem* examination

was made by the celebrated Dr. William Harvey, and in the account taken from Harvey's notes (*Philosophical Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 888) it is stated that Parr "was able even to the 130th year of his age to do any husbandman's work, even threshing of corn." The story of Old Parr became widely known, owing in great part to the poetical version of his life by John Taylor, the "water poet," entitled *The Old, Old, Very Old Man: or, The Age and long Life of Thomas Par* [sic], *the Son of John Parr of Winnington*. (London, Printed for Henry Gosson, 1635.) The evidence as to Parr's exact age is certainly not very good, but it may probably be safely allowed that he was over a hundred. His portrait, engraved by C. van Dalen, appears on a contemporary broadside, entitled *The Wonder of this Age* (London, Printed for Benjamin Fisher, 1635), published whilst Parr was living in Arundel House; there are reprints and numerous copies of this engraving. A painting in the school of Honthorst, said to be a portrait of Parr, is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. (See Art. by T. Seccombe in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) A painting by Rubens was believed, probably on insufficient grounds, to represent "Old Parr," and engravings after it have been published as portraits of him. There are likewise various engravings copied from a portrait by John Payne, a contemporary engraver, and of this portrait the mezzotint by George White is a variety. Parr is not so well represented by medals as by engravings, and of the three following pieces the first is posthumous, the second is a seventeenth-century farthing token possibly not meant to represent Parr, and the third, as will be shown, certainly does not represent him at all.



1. *Obv.*—Bust facing, with head slightly inclined to left. The likeness is similar to that on the mezzotint by White; he is not bald, has beard and moustache, and wears a small ruff and doublet. On a scroll above is the legend, OLD THO PARR; on a similar scroll below, AGED 152 R. P. (= Requiescat in Pace).

No reverse. Diam.: 1·2 inches; struck; Æ (M.B.), Lead (M.B.). *Med. Illust. of British History*, by Messrs. Hawkins, Franks, and Grueber, 1885, vol. i., p. 277, No. 79.

The execution of this piece is very poor. One of the British Museum specimens is struck on a much-worn English copper halfpenny; a specimen in copper, recently in the possession of the Royal United Service Institution, is struck on a worn halfpenny, dated 169.; the last figure of the date cannot be made out. The piece was therefore issued long after Old Parr's death and may have been used as a cheque or ticket at some inn, possibly at the "Old Man Inn," formerly standing in Market Place, Westminster, of which the following seventeenth-century farthing token exists:—



2. *Obv.*—AT · THE · OLD · MAN · IN. A head supposed to be that of "Old Parr" in profile to left. It must be owned that the portrait need not represent Parr, and Mr. B. V. Head, of the British Museum, points out that it rather suggests a likeness of King Charles I.

*Rev.*—MARKET · PLA · WESTMIN. In the centre are the initials of the issuer of the token and his wife, W. I. F.

Diam.: 0·6 inches; struck; Æ (M.B.). W. Boyne's *Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd edition, 1889, vol. i., p. 723, No. 2532.



3. *Obv.*—Clothed bust to left. On the truncation are the letters A. S. Inscription engraved in incuse letters around the head:—THO = PARR = At = 152.

*Rev.*—Plain.

Diam.: 1·4 inches; chased; Æ (Historical Museum of Orleans).

I owe the description of this piece to the kindness of the Director of the Historical Museum at Orleans. I have myself a copperplate engraving of the identical specimen at Orleans or of a similar piece, and Mr. Grueber pointed out that the portrait is that of Sir Albert Joachim, Ambassador of the United Provinces at London in the reign of Charles I. The British Museum collection con-

tains a specimen in silver of the portrait-medal of Sir Albert Joachim, made in 1646 by the admirable English medallist, Abraham Simon. (*Med. Illust.*, vol. i. p. 324, No. 162. See also engraving in George Vertue's *Medals, Coins, Great Seals, &c. of T. Simon*, 1753, XXII, Fig. G.). The diameter of the Joachim medal is 1·45 inches and the inscription is on the reverse only; a comparison of this medal with my engraving leaves no room for doubt that the specimen in the Orleans Museum is not a Medal of Parr at all, but a cast of the obverse of Simon's medal of Joachim, which has been slightly altered by chasing and on which Parr's name and age have been engraved around the head.

BERNARD LE BOVIER DE FONTENELLE, the French poet and philosopher, was born 11th Feb., 1657, and died 9th Jan., 1757. He was a nephew of the celebrated Corneille, and from 1691 was a member of the French Academy; he was likewise a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Although he just missed completing his hundredth year, his medals may be fitly described with those of centenarians.

1. *Obv.*—BER<sup>RD</sup> FONTENELL<sup>LE</sup> DOIEN DES 3. ACADE<sup>MIES</sup> Draped bust to right.

*Rev.*—DES GRACES APOLLON MINERVE L'ONT FORMÉ. Group of Minerva, Apollo, and the three Graces. In the exergue is the date, MDCCXXX.

Diam.: 2·15 inches; cast; Æ.

This is one of the medals of Titon du Tillet's *Parnasse François* series. See *Le Parnasse François* by Titon du Tillet, Paris, 1732, folio, Pl. X.

2. *Obv.*—P. CORNEILLE . FONTENELLE . N . POUSSIN. Busts jugate to right of Corneille, Fontenelle, and Nicolas Poussin. Signed below, DEPAULIS . F.

*Rev.*—TRIA LIMINA PANDIT. A classical façade with four columns and three entrances. In exergue, SCIENT . LITT . ET ART . ACAD . REGIA ROTHOM . 1744.

Diam. : 1·3 inches; struck; Æ (F.P.W.).

This is a jeton or medalet of the Royal Academy of the Sciences, Letters and Arts at Rouen, where both Corneille and Fontenelle were born. The painter Nicolas Poussin was likewise born in Normandy, though not at Rouen.

3. *Obv.*—B. LE BOUYER DE FONTENELLE. Draped bust to right. Signed on the truncation DONADIO F.

*Rev.*—Inscription:—NÉ A ROUEN EN M·DC·LVII. MORT EN M·DCC·LVII. In smaller letters:—GALERIE METALLIQUE DES GRANDS HOMMES FRANÇAIS . 1819.

Diam. : 1·6 inches; struck; Æ (F.P.W.)

4. *Obv.*—B. LE BOUVIER DE FONTENELLE. Clothed bust to right, the face and hair being exactly similar to that on medal No. 3. Signed below DONADIO.

*Rev.*—Inscription:—NATUS ROTHOMAGI IN GALLIA AN . M·DC·LVII . OBIT AN . M·DCC·LVII. In smaller letters:—SERIES NUMISMATICA UNIVERSALIS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM. M·DCCC·XXI. DURAND EDIDIT.

Diam. : 1·6 inches; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). The word MONACHII is sometimes stamped on the edge, signifying, probably, when it occurs, that the medal was issued at Munich instead of at Paris.

PIETERTJE BREEDVELD, a Dutch lady, was born on the 25th November, 1678, and on 1st September, 1697, married Jan Puts, who died on the 29th August, 1724. She lived to be over one hundred years old, and died on 20th February, 1779. On her hundredth birthday she had twelve grand-children and seven great-grand-children living, and was said never to have been ill or to have been bled. To the end of her days she retained possession of her mental faculties. For reference to the following medal, struck on the occasion of her hundredth birthday, by Gysbert van Moelingen, a Dutch medallist and engraver, I am indebted to Dr. J. Brettauer, of Trieste.

*Obv.*—LAAT MIJ NU GAAN IN VREDE NAAR UW WOORD (Luke ii. 29). An old woman with a forget-me-not embroidered on her dress stands facing, and with her left hand holds a wedding-ring over an altar, on which the number 100 is engraved, signifying the number of years she has lived; at the base of the altar lies a broken wedding-ring. In her right hand she holds a Bible, and at her feet are a globe and flowers. In the background, to the right, is a distant hill crowned with a radiated city, marked SALEM.

*Rev.*—TEN HONDERDSTEN VERJAARDAG VAN PIETERT. JE BREEDVELD WED (uve) JAN PUTS. (In the centre, in ten lines:—) MIJN KROOST | ROEMT GIJ HET AL-BELEID | DAT MIJ EEN EEUW IN T LICHT | WOU SPAAREN | ZOEK EEU-WIC HEIL IN JONGE | JAAREN | EEN EEUW IS NIETS BIJ DE | EEUWIG HEID | DEN 25 NOV: | 1778. | Signed, GEYS·B·V·M·F· (= Geys Bertus Van Moelingen fecit).

Diam. 1·9 inches; struck. *Beschrijving van Nederlandsche Historie-Penningen ten Vervolge op het Werk van Mr. Gerard Van Loon. Pl. XLIX, No. 536.*



## CORNELIA BIERENS, Dutch centenarian, 1790.

*Obv.*—IK HEB EEN EEUW VOLBRACHT, EN  
WAGT DE ZALIGHEID. Her bust with  
a hood on her head to right. Signed I.G.H.F.

*Rev.*—A bracket bearing the date MDCCXC and or-  
namented with flowers, antique lamp, and a  
winged hour-glass; above it, between branches  
of palm and olive, is a radiated serpent with its  
tail in its mouth, forming the emblem of eternity  
and enclosing the letter C; on a curtain hang-  
ing from the bracket, the inscription:—"COR-  
NELIA BIERENS Gebooren 29 Dec. MDCXC.  
Dogter van ANTHONY BIERENS en KUNIRA  
VAN HOOGMAADE."

Diam.: 1.75 inches; struck; R (F.P.W.). By the  
medallist, Johann Georg Holtzhey. Described  
in the above quoted Supplement to Van Loon's  
work, Part X., p. 409, Pl. LXXVI., No. 795.

## JAN CHRISTIAN HAMELMAN, Dutch centenarian, 1838.

*Obv.*—JAN CHRISTIAN HAMELMAN . GEBOREN  
29 SEPTEMB . 1738 . OUD 100 JAREN. His  
clothed bust with head to left, wearing a cap  
ornamented by a tassel. Signed V D K . F .

*Rev.*—Within open oak wreath:—

IK HEB EEN EEUW GEZOND GELEEFT,  
DANK GOD DIE MIJ DIT VOORRECHT GEEFT.  
'K BEN THANS VERTROUWEND VOORBEREID,  
VOOR 'T LEVEN GINDS IN D' EEUWIGHEID!  
AMSTERDAM DEN 29 SEPTEMBER 1838.

Diam.: 1.7 inches; struck; R (F.P.W.). By the  
medallist, David Van der Kellen, the younger,  
of Utrecht. Figured by Jacob Dirks, *Atlas*  
*Ned. Penningen*, Pl. LXVI., No. 537.

SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, Bart., F.R.S., the celebrated  
Jewish philanthropist, was born on 24th October,  
1784, in the city of Leghorn, Italy, while his parents

were there on a visit. His family had originally been resident in Italy and his grandparents emigrated from Leghorn and settled in London in 1758. In 1812 he married Judith, daughter of Mr. L. B. Cohen, a sister-in-law of Nathan Maier Rothschild. In 1837 on his return from Syria, where he and his wife by their munificence had rendered assistance to the plague-stricken people, he was elected Sheriff of London and was knighted by the Queen. In 1842 he opened a dispensary in Jerusalem, one of his many charitable acts towards that city. In 1846, on his return from Russia, the Queen made him a baronet. During his long life Sir Moses Montefiore undertook numerous travels and spared no pains or expense to benefit the condition of Jews throughout the world. He died at East Cliff Lodge, near Ramsgate, 28th July, 1885, in his one hundred and first year. [*Vide* Lucien Wolf, *Sir Moses Montefiore*, London, 1884; the obituary notice in *The Times*, &c.] For the translation of the Hebrew inscriptions on the medals I am much indebted to the Rev. Dr. H. Adler.

1. *Obv.*—Hebrew inscription from Psalm cxxii., verse 8, signifying :—“ For my brethren and companions’ sakes, I will now say, Peace be within thee ”; also the words, “ The Pride of Israel, ” and the date (*anno mundi*) 5601. In the centre the Arms of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore. Signed GEBR. NATHAN HAMBURG.

*Rev.*—GEWIDMET VON IHREN GLAUBENSGENOSSEN IN HAMBURG. In centre :—SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE UND LADY MONTEFIORE NACH IHRER RÜCKKUNFT AUS AEGYPTEN IM JAHRE 1841.

Diam. : 1·7 inches ; struck ; gold, silver, copper.

This medal is described and figured by O. C. Gaedechens in *Hamburgische Münzen und Medaillen*, Hamburg, 1850, vol. i., p. 258. It was made by the Brothers Nathan, a Jewish firm of medallists at Hamburg, and a specimen was presented by the Jews of Hamburg to Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore on their return from Egypt and the East in 1841. The following three medals commemorate the centennial celebration of the birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore.

2. *Obv.*—Hebrew inscription signifying: "Blessed is everyone that feareth the Lord, that walketh in His ways. [Psalm cxxviii. verse 1] 5645 [*anno mundi*]." Clothed bust, with bare head in nearly complete profile to right. Signed on the truncation, A. D. LOEWENSTARK & SONS. LONDON.

*Rev.*—HOLY LAND, EGYPT, DAMASCUS, CONSTANTINOPLE, RUSSIA, POLAND, ROME, MOROCCO, ROUMANIA. In the centre:—A UNIVERSAL TRIBUTE OF RESPECT & ESTEEM TO SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE BART. PHILANTHROPIST FROM HIS ADMIRERS & FRIENDS. CENTENARY 27<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1884.

Diam.: 1·6 inches; struck; issued in various metals by Messrs. A. D. Loewenstark & Sons, a Jewish firm in London.

The apparent discrepancy in the date of the centenary on this medal arises from the fact that the birthday was on the Jewish 8th Heshvan, which in 1884 corresponded to the 27th October, whereas on the year of his birth it corresponded to an earlier day of October.

3. *Obv.*—Hebrew inscription signifying: "My servant Moses is faithful in all mine house." [Numbers xii. 7]. Clothed bust of Sir Moses to left.

*Rev.*—Inscription in seven lines :—A MOSE MONTE-FIORE SINTESI PERFETTA DEL GIU-DAISMO NEL SVO CENTENARIO VIII KESVAN 5645 (*i.e.* the 8th day of the month Kesvan, Heshvan, or Cheshvan, *anno mundi* 5645).

Diam. : 1·7 inches; struck; Æ (Dr. J. Brettauer).

This medal, which is not signed by the medallist, was struck at Turin, according to Dr. Brettauer, or at Corfu according to the *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* in London, 1887.

4. *Obv.*—In the centre, clothed bust of Sir Moses Montefiore to left, wearing cap. Hebrew inscription signifying: "Moses Montefiore. VIII [day of the month Heshvan] 5645 [*anno mundi*]."

*Obv.*—In the centre an ornamental device of the Hebrew letters of the word Jerusalem. Hebrew inscription signifying: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. [Psalm cxxxvii., 5] Chesvan [*i.e.* the month, as on the medal, No. 3] 5645 [*anno mundi*]."

Diam. : 1·4 inches, in form of a star of six points.

A silver specimen is in the collection of Dr. J. Brettauer, of Trieste, to whom I am indebted for the description of the preceding medal also.

MICHEL EUGÈNE CHEVREUL, the celebrated French chemist, was born at Angers, 31st August, 1786, and died at Paris, 9th April, 1889. He was Professor of Applied Chemistry at Paris, *Membre de l'Académie des Sciences*, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. As late as 1885 he published a scientific memoir, and in the next year his hundredth birthday was publicly celebrated at Paris. The following medal by the well-known French medallist, O. Roty, was

struck for the occasion; on it Prof. Chevreul is styled "doyen des étudiants," in graceful allusion to his scientific work of the preceding year.

1. *Obv.*—MICHEL EVGENE CHEVREVL MEMBRE DE L'ACADEMIE DES SCIENCES. Clothed bust to right. Signed "O. Roty."

*Rev.*—LA JEUNESSE FRANÇAISE AV DOYEN DES ETUDIANTS (and in inner circle) 31 AOVT 1786. 31 AOVT 1886. Prof. Chevreul is seated in an arm-chair to left, holding pen in hand and with writing paper on his knee; below are books and a manuscript; before him a young female figure in classical drapery, with book under arm, stands to r., offering him a wreath; behind is a table with chemical instruments on it. Signed, in the right of the exergue, "O. Roty."

Diam.: 2.75 inches; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). In the South Kensington Museum is exhibited a larger cast medal (diam., 3.9 inches) similar to the struck medal except in the artist's signature. In the cast medal this appears on the reverse only, and in the left, instead of the right, of the exergue.

Of the previous year I have a large bronze portrait medallion by D. Ringel d'Illzach, an Alsatian sculptor and medallist, living at Paris.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Chevreul to left with clothed neck. On a raised band below, MICHEL · EVGENE · CHEVREVL. Below this is the date of his birth, ANGERS · XXXI · AOVT · MDCCLXXXVI. On the upper part of the medallion are the titles of some of his works:—CONTRASTES · SIMULTANES · DES · COULEURS ·, CERCLES CHROMATIQUES. &c. Signed in front of the neck, RINGEL D'ILLZACH MDCCLXXXV.

No reverse. Diam.: 7 inches; cast; Æ (F.P.W.).

This medallion forms one of a series of portrait medallions, by the same artist, of well-known modern Frenchmen. They were published by J. Rouam at the "Librairie de l'Art," Paris.

The following two medals represent Professor Chevreul at earlier periods of his life.

3. *Obv.*—M . E . CHEVREUL MEMBRE DE L'ACADEMIE DES SCIENCES. His head to left.  
Signed, ALPHÉE DUBOIS.

*Rev.*—Inscription in seven lines:—OFFERT LE 31  
AOÛT 1872 A L'ILLUSTRE DOYEN DES  
CHIMISTES PAR SES CONFRÈRES PAR  
SES AMIS ET PAR SES ADMIRATEURS.

Diam.: 2.0 inches; struck; Æ (F.P.W.). By the medallist Alphée Dubois, of Paris.

Of very much earlier date is the following large portrait medallion by the famous French sculptor David d'Angers.

4. *Obv.*—Chevreul's head to left, with his name and the artist's signature, "David 1834."

No reverse. Diam.: 6.5 inches; cast; Æ (F.P.W.).

F. PARKES WEBER.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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The *Revue Numismatique*, Part IV., 1894, contains the following articles :—

1. R. MOWAT. On the Roman coins of the Mines, *Metalla*, with or without the letters S. C., of the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.

2. TH. REINACH. On a coin of a new King of Paphlagonia, Deiotarus Philadelphus, B.C. 32—5.

3. M. LECOMTE. On the identification of two Merovingian mints, Vadinnaco and Vatunaco, Vaddonnaco. The first of these, the writer thinks, was the modern Gannot (Allier), and the second Gannay, in the same department.

4. J. A. BLANCHET. On the fourteenth-century seal of the mint of Orvieto, in the museum of Bologna.

5. P. CASANOVA. The coins of the dynasty of Danishmend (continuation), discussing the numismatics of the period between A.H. 460 and 569 (= A.D. 1067 and 1174).

6. H. DE LA TOUR. Jean de Candida, Counsellor and Ambassador of King Charles VIII, and Medallist. (Continuation.)

Part I., 1895, contains the following articles :—

1. E. BABELON. On the primitive coinage of Asia Minor: coins of the Phocaic standard in electrum.

2. E. DROUIN. Unpublished Sassanian coins.

3. J. A. BLANCHET. On coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia.

4. J. A. BLANCHET. On an unpublished aureus of Uranius Antoninus. *Rev.* FORTVNA REDVX, Fortuna seated. The writer draws attention to the fact that this prince never uses the titles *Imperator* and *Augustus* on his gold coins with Latin inscriptions, although they occur on his bronze coins with Greek inscriptions struck at Emesa.

5. A. DE BARTHÉLEMY. Note on the classification of Carlovingian coins. The writer points out that after the second half of the ninth century the occurrence on these coins of royal names and monograms is no proof that the coins were issued by the kings whose names they bear. He treats them as survivals

of old types, usurped by counts, bishops, and abbots in order to give a legal appearance to their coins.

6. G. SCHLUMBERGER. On an unpublished coin of the Empress Theodora, daughter of Constantine VIII.

7. G. SCHLUMBERGER. On Byzantine Méreaux, Tesserae, and Jetons.

Part II., 1895, contains the following articles:—

1. R. MOWAT. On the names of the Emperor Carausius. The author points out that the letter M on some of the rarer coins of Carausius stands, not for Marcus, but for Mausaeus, a cognomen of Carausius, revealed for the first time by a milestone discovered at Carlisle. (*Proc. of the Soc. of Ant. of Newcastle-on-Tyne*, 1894, vol. vi. p. 268.)

2. R. MOWAT. On the Imperial Mints in Gaul, principally from Postumus to Tetricus. (A.D. 258—278.)

This paper contains a mass of information most valuable for students of the coins of this period.

3. M. LECOMTE. Merovingian mints. Identifications and observations.

4. P. BORDEAUX. Unpublished or little-known French regal coins.

5. J. A. BLANCHET. Greek coins.

A selection of coins of Northern and Central Greece, recently acquired by the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. Among them is a specimen of the very rare coinage of Eurea, in Thessaly. Of this town the British Museum has lately acquired two coins, one of which is of a different type from that described by M. Blanchet: it will shortly be published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

6. H. DE LA TOUR. Jean de Candida. (Continuation.)

Part III. contains the following articles:—

1. E. BABELON. On the primitive coinage of Asia Minor. "Coins of the Milesian standard in electrum." With this interesting article M. Babelon brings to a conclusion a series of papers on the early electrum coins of Asia Minor. The attributions of the various series of coins with which he has dealt in this *résumé* of all that has previously been written about them, have, for long years past, been the subject of many conjectures on the part of Lenormant, Six, Head, and other numismatists. M. Babelon, with much discrimination and sound sense, criticises the attributions of his predecessors and draws his own conclusions, which seem to us on the whole to be borne out by the evidence, such as it is, which is at our disposal. He is seldom influenced by preconceived theories, and the results at



which, after a minute study of the extant coins, and of the history of the times, he has arrived, may be accepted by students as, in the main, correct.

2. E. DROUIN. *Onomasticon of the Arsacids*, an essay on the explanation of the names of the Parthian kings. The writer shows that all the names of the Arsacid kings are of Iranian origin. The names explained in the present article are Artabanus, Artavazdes, Chosroes, Gondophares, Gotarzes, Himerus, Kamnaskires, Meherdates, Mithradates, Nanes, Orodes, Orthagnes, Pacorus and Pacores, Parthamasiris, Parthamaspatas, Phraataces, Phraates, Phraortes, Phriapatius, Rhodaspes, Sanabares, Seraspadanus, Sinatroces, Surena, Tiridates, Vardanes, Vologeses, and Vonones.

3. P. CASANOVA. The coins of the dynasty of Danishmend (continuation). This paper is accompanied by a genealogical table of the family of the Danishmendites of Melitene (A.D. 1067—1177).

4. N. RONDOT. On the diameter of cast medals.

M. Rondot has been at the pains of making a large number of experiments in order to ascertain the extent of the shrinkage which takes place in the process of casting in various metals. He gives this as a rough average, at about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In most cases the number of original examples was extremely small, and it would seem that the greater number of the reproductions are contemporary, or almost so, with the originals, and frequently made by the original medallists themselves.

5. H. DE LA TOUR. Jean de Candida (conclusion).

Part IV. contains the following articles:—

1. TH. REINACH. On the relative values of the monetary metals in Greek Sicily. In this careful essay M. Reinach criticises minutely the various hypotheses of previous writers, Mommsen, Head, Deceke, Hulstsch, &c. He points out with admirable lucidity the errors into which each and all of them have in turn fallen, and though he confesses that there are some difficult problems which still remain unsolved, the explanations which he proposes, can hardly fail to be acceptable to all who can devote time and attentive study to the history of bi-metallism in antiquity.

2. M. C. SOUTZO. New researches into the origins and relations of some of the weight standards of the ancients. Here we have another highly interesting and suggestive metrological study, the object of which is a most ingenious attempt to prove that all the principal weight talents of the ancients are multiples, according to the duodecimal system, of the Egyptian

"Uten." Thus the Attic talent is 24 dozen utens, the Babylonian 28 dozen, the Roman 30 dozen, the Aeginetic 40 dozen, &c. Similarly the Attic mina is 48 Egyptian kats, the Babylonian 56, the Roman 60, the Aeginetic 80, &c. The writer argues that such remarkable coincidences can hardly be due to a mere chance.

3. C<sup>te</sup> DE CASTELLANE. On a half-groat of Henry V of England, struck at Caen. *Obv.* ✠HENRIC ♂ DI ♂ 6 ♂ FRAN-  
CISCV ♂ REX. Shield of France. *Rev.* ✠SIT ♂ ROMA ♂  
DNI ♂ BENEDICTV. Cross cantonnée of two fleurs de lis  
and two crowns, and surmounted by a Sun. This coin of the  
French regal type, the writer believes to be the first coin issued  
by Henry V, at the beginning of his campaign in Normandy.  
It was not until after his capture of Rouen that he ventured  
to issue coins of new and unfamiliar types.

4. H. DE LA TOUR. Modern medals recently acquired by  
the French *Cabinet des Médailles*.

Among these are a fine example of the medal of Vittorino da  
Feltre, by Pisano; of Caracalla, by Boldu; of Antonia del Balzo,  
by Bonacolsi, called "*il Antico*," who signs as ANTI; of Ales-  
sandro Sforza, probably by Gianfrancesco Enzola, called "*Par-  
mense*"; and of Cæsar Borgia (?), by an artist of the Florentine  
School.

B. V. H.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. XIX., Heft IV., contains  
the following articles:—

1. R. WEIL. A *résumé* of the history of the Science of Nu-  
mismatics, read at the fiftieth anniversary meeting of the  
Numismatic Society of Berlin, 4th December, 1898.

2. R. SCHEUNER. On two manuscript account books relating  
to the mint of the town of Görlitz, in the fifteenth century.

3. J. CAHN. On a new denar of Volquin III, Count of  
Schwalenberg, A.D. 1214—1249.

4. E. J. SELTMANN. Interesting symbols on coins of Taren-  
tum and Athens.

Band XX., Heft I., contains the following articles:—

1. H. DANNENBERG. Inedited Mediæval coins in his collec-  
tion.

2. E. WUNDERLICH. On a second find of coins in 1887 near  
Ribnitz. This hoard seems to have been buried about the year  
1408.

3. O. HEINEMANN. On the Bracteates of Bishop Hartbert von Hildesheim, A.D. 1199—1216.

4. F. FRIEDENSBURG. On a wrongly-attributed Silesian denar.

5. H. v. FRITZE. On the coinage of Delphi. This paper is in the main devoted to the elucidation of one of the Delphian coin-types, a circle with a point in the centre, which has hitherto been described by all numismatists (*e.g.* Imhoof-Blumer, P. Gardner, Head, and others) as a representation of the *ὀμφαλὸς γῆς*. The writer disputes this explanation of the type, and, after a careful consideration of his arguments, we are inclined to agree with him, that the object represented on the coins is the sacrificial *φιάλη*, with a boss or *ὀμφαλὸς* in the centre, "*patera umbelicata*," which is especially appropriate on the coins of Delphi, as symbolical of the libation and sacrifice which formed an essential part of the ritualistic cultus of the Pythian Apollo.

6. J. V. KULL. On the numismatic history of the Dukes of the Landshut district of Lower Bavaria, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

B. V. H.

*Monete Romane. Manuale Elementare, compilato da Francesco Gneocchi, Milano, 1896.*

This work forms one of the series of manuals on numismatics which is being issued by the firm of Ulrico Hoepli, of Milan. A short time ago we gave a notice of a similar manual on the general history of numismatics published by the same firm. The work before us is in the full sense of the word a manual, and is intended as a guide for beginners and young collectors. The whole subject is therefore given only in outline, and in the space of less than two hundred pages, the author has managed to present a general bird's-eye view of Roman Numismatics, from the early Republican times down to the fall of the Byzantine Empire, treating each period, Republican, Imperial, and Byzantine, in chronological order. After a general survey of each class, the author has added special chapters on medallions of the Empire, the so-called "consecration coins," contorniates, forgeries, and how to detect them, and, lastly, on the process of making impressions. To each principal series are supplied lists of dates, such as the approximate dates of the issue of Republican coins and of the reigns of the Emperors, &c.; and to these the author adds tables of the average market values of the gold, silver, and copper coins. The plates at the end of the volume

supply portraits of the Emperors and others, from Julius Cæsar to Romulus Augustus, chiefly taken from gold coins. Besides this, the work throughout is profusely illustrated with the principal pieces of each section.

For his information Sig. Gneecchi has no doubt chiefly consulted the works of Mommsen, Babelon, Cohen, and Sabatier; therefore, on the whole, the work is trustworthy. Here and there, however, we are unable to agree with some of the author's conclusions, especially as regards the dates, &c., of the Republican coins. The theory that the *As libralis* was first coined in B.C. 450, has been shown by several writers of late years to be erroneous, and that the date of its first appearance must be fixed at least a century later. Sig. Gneecchi makes no mention at all of the "sextantal" or two-ounce As, which was issued either at the time of the monetary reform of B.C. 269, or a few years later. Again, he says that the *Victoriata* is not a subdivision of the denarius, but that it was a foreign denomination not current at Rome. This is not quite in accordance with the evidence afforded by the coin itself. Its weight was three-fourths of the denarius, and when the weight of that coin fell in B.C. 217, that of the *victoriates* was reduced in like proportion. Moreover the fact that these coins are found in hoards with Roman denarii, clearly proves that they were at least to some extent current in Italy. These perhaps are, however, only details which may be corrected in a new edition, and do not materially affect the general usefulness of the work, which we would recommend specially to all young collectors, and even to those more experienced, if they wish to have at hand a ready book of reference.

H. A. G.

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END OF VOL. XV.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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SESSION 1894—1895.

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OCTOBER 18, 1894.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S.,  
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the  
table :—

1. The Numismatische Zeitschrift, Band III, 1872. From  
Sir John Evans.

2. The Mogul Emperors of India. By C. J. Rodgers. From  
the Author.

3. General View of the Coinage of the Mogul Emperors of  
Delhi. By C. J. Rodgers. From the Author.

4. Jehangir's Mohurs and Rupees. By C. J. Rodgers.  
From the Author.

5. Coins Supplementary to Thomas's Chronicles of the  
Pathan Kings (No. 5). By C. J. Rodgers. From the Author.

6. American Coins and Currency of the Isle of Man, from  
the Cabinet of Dr. C. Clay. From Sir John Evans.

7. Nine Reprints of various Articles in the *Num. Chron.*  
From Sir John Evans.



8. Ἑθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος. \*Ἐκθεσις τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1891—2 πεπραγμένων. By J. N. Svoronos.

9. Bulletin de la Société suisse de Numismatique, 2nd—11th years (wanting 1st part of 10th year). From the Society.

10. Bulletin de Numismatique. May, July, and September, 1894. From the Editor.

11. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xiv. Part I. From the Hellenic Society.

12. Rivista italiana di Numismatica. Parts II and III. 1894. From the Editor.

13. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xv, Parts V and VI. From the Institute.

14. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1st and 2nd trimestres, 1894. From the Society.

15. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. iii. and Parts II and III of Vol. iv. From the Society.

16. Revue belge de Numismatique. Parts III and IV, 1894. From the Society.

17. Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique, May—August, 1894. From the Society.

18. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Parts CLXIX—CLXX. From the Society.

19. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. iii, No. 2, and Transactions Vol. xxx, Parts XI—XII. From the Academy.

20. Verhandelingen uitgegeven door Teyler's Tweede Genootschap. Vol. iii, Part III. From the Society.

21. Atlas der Nederlandsche Penningen. Part V. By J. Dirks. From the Author.

22. Sitzungsbericht der k. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Parts I—XXIII, 1894. From the Academy.

23. Annual Reports of the Deputy Master of the Mint, 1871, 1875, and 1878—1893. From A. W. Daughlish, Esq.

24. *Revue suisse de Numismatique*. Parts I—III, 1894. From the Society.

25. *Catalogue of Coins and Currency of Australia*. By C. P. Hyman. From the Author.

26. *Archaeologia Aeliana*. Part XLIV. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

27. *Coins and Medals*. 3rd Edition, 1894. By the Authors of the British Museum Catalogues of Coins. From the Publishers.

28. *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*. Part XCV. From the Society.

29. *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age*. By Arthur Engel and R. Serrure. From H. Montagu, Esq.

30. Bronze Medal commemorating the visit of the King of Denmark to the City of London. From the Corporation of the City.

The President exhibited a gold coin of Cunobeline (Evans, pl. XXII, 5), found near Wantage in 1894, a variety showing an exergual line and a pellet in front of the horse's head.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a solidus of Flavius Victor struck at Trèves, *rev.* Maximus and his son Victor seated facing, supporting a globe; above them Victory, and around the legend BONO REIPUBLICE NATI. He also exhibited six unpublished gold coins of James I, with mint-marks not recorded in Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England*, viz., rose royal, m.m. key; half unite, m.m. open rose; angel, m.m. cross; angel, m.m. bell; quarter-laurel, m.m. spur rowel; thistle crown, m.m. plain cross. (See Vol. xiv, p. 344.)

Mr. A. E. Packe exhibited an angel of the first issue of Henry VII, bearing the Irish title DNS. IB.

Mr. Spink exhibited a proof "Gedächtniss Thaler," 1894, of William II of Germany and Bismarck.

Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper on a hoard of archaic and transitional Sicilian coins recently found at Villabate, near Palermo. The coins, about 250 in number, all of them tetra-

drachms, were contained in an urn, and were dug up in a quarry five kilometres east of Palermo. From the evidence supplied by some exceptionally brilliant pieces of Himera and the latest coins of Syracuse discovered, the hoard appeared to have been deposited about 450 B.C. It presented several novelties, amongst them a coin of Gela with the entire figure of a bull swimming, and an early tetradrachm of Leontini, exhibiting the letters AP before the horses on the reverse, probably the earliest engraver's signature on a coin. The signature was of special interest from the correspondence of the style and design of the reverse with that of the famous "Dámareteion" of Syracuse, which was possibly by the same hand. The hoard afforded some new chronological standpoints for the classification of Sicilian coins. The paper is printed in Vol. xiv, p. 201.

Mr. Grueber read a communication on the gold coins struck for the Transvaal Republic in 1892 and 1893, bearing the bust of President Kruger. The coins issued in 1892 exhibited a slight mistake in the Transvaal arms on the reverse, where the waggon is represented with two shafts instead of a single pole. This blunder caused so much annoyance in the Republic that immediate steps were taken by the President to call in the issue.

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NOVEMBER 15, 1894.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

John Armstrong Foster, Esq., and Henry Perry, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*. September—October, 1894. From the Society.

2. Bulletin de Numismatique. October, 1894. From the Editor.

3. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. xv, No. 1. From the Society.

4. Sitzungsberichte der k. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Nos. XXIV—XXXVIII. From the Academy.

5. Die antiken Münzen der Inseln Malta, Gozo, und Pantelleria. By A. Mayr. Munich, 1894. From the Author.

6. Mélanges de Numismatique et d'Histoire et Recherches en Poitou, 1895. By C. Farcinet. From the Author.

7. Madras Central Museum. Coin Catalogue, Roman, Indo-Portuguese, and Ceylon. 2nd Edition. By E. Thurston. From the Author.

8. Smithsonian Report, 1892. From the Smithsonian Institute.

9. Bronze Medal commemorating the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to the City of London in July, 1893. From the Corporation of the City.

The President exhibited an angel of Henry VII, with mint-mark greyhound's head, and reading HENRI instead of HENRIC', the legends in large characters. A similar coin, so far as the obverse is concerned, is in the British Museum, but omits the letters RED at the end of the inscription on the reverse. The greyhound was one of the supporters of the arms of Henry VII.

Mr. A. Prevost exhibited a medal of John Bright, struck at Birmingham in 1885, on the occasion of the Bright Celebration.

Mr. Durlacher exhibited a bronze medal of Richard Wagner, by C. Wiener, with a group of the principal characters from his operas on the reverse.

Mr. Lawrence read a paper descriptive of a find of silver coins struck during the reigns of all the English monarchs from Edward III to Edward IV, but chiefly of this last king. By a consideration of the indentures of 1464 and 1465, Mr. Law-

rence pointed out a new class of York pennies, reading EDWARD REX ANGLI, which he attributed to the first or heavy coinage of Edward IV. The pieces shown bore the initial G of George Nevil, Archbishop of York, and the York key on either side of the king's neck.

Mr. Montagu read some further notes concerning Bishop de Bury and the Durham coinage, and cited some important documentary extracts from the "*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*," &c. One of these, entitled "*De Cuneis Monetæ detentis*," is a copy of a letter from Bishop de Bury to a friend in London, requesting him to ascertain the cause of the detention there of the dies for the episcopal coinage of Durham. This paper is printed in Vol. xv, p. 290.

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DECEMBER 20, 1894.

H. MONTAGU, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Hartwell D. Grissell, Esq., F.S.A., and Walter Elliot Murphy, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1894. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

2. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. Part I.* By C. J. Rodgers. From the Author.

3. *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum—Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos.* By Warwick Wroth, F.S.A. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

4. *Smithsonian Reports 1891—1892.* From the Smithsonian Institute.

5. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxx, Parts III—XIV.* From the Academy.

6. *Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xv. Part VIII.* From the Institute.

Mr. Montagu exhibited a selection, from his own cabinet, of gold coins of Queen Elizabeth bearing mint-marks not recorded in Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England*. A detailed list of these unpublished varieties will be found in the *Num. Chron.* Vol. xv, p. 165.

Mr. Lawrence exhibited the following coins: an imitation of the York shilling of Charles I, m.m. on obv. lis placed sideways to represent a lion; a shilling of Charles I, resembling the Worcester half-crown, m.m. a pear (?); a groat and three-pence of Charles I, m.m. lis, garnished shield on rev.; a groat of Henry VII, first issue, m.m. cross *fitchée*, similar to that mentioned at the end of Hawkins's list.

Mr. Copp exhibited a farthing of William III (1697), with the S of TERTIVS omitted.

Dr. H. P. Weber contributed some additional remarks on his unique portrait-medal of Paracelsus dated 1541, comparing with it two copperplate engravings of Paracelsus, dated respectively 1538 and 1540, which furnish, together with the medal, the most authentic portraits of Paracelsus extant. (See Vol. xv, p. 154.)

Dr. Barclay V. Head read some extracts from a paper contributed by Dr. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, dealing, among other subjects, with the silver staters of the Ætolians bearing on the obverse a portrait (?) which Prof. P. Gardner believed to be intended for Antiochus III of Syria, whom the Ætolians elected, in B.C. 192, as *αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός* of their league. M. Six disputed this attribution, and advanced some arguments in favour of assigning it to Demetrius II, King of Macedon, who made war upon the Ætolians B.C. 235—233. The paper will be found in Vol. xiv, p. 297.

Dr. Head said that for his own part he saw difficulties in the way of the acceptance of either of these attributions. He considered the coins in question to be contemporary with the earliest Ætolian issues, c. B.C. 279.

JANUARY 17, 1895.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

John Cooper, Esq., Talfourd Ely, Esq., F.S.A., and George Macdonald, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.* Vol. iii, No. 8. From the Academy.

2. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.* Vol. iv, Part IV. From the Society.

3. *Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie.* 171st livraison. From the Society.

4. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique.* Nov.—Dec. 1894. From the Society.

5. *Revue belge de Numismatique.* Part IV, 1894. From the Society.

6. *Rivista italiana di Numismatica.* Part IV, 1894. From the Society.

7. *Deux monnaies de Godefroid de Dalenbroeck.* By the Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

8. *Deux monnaies de Philippe II, frappées en Bois-le-Duc.* By the same. From the Author.

9. *Numismata Londinensia, or Medals struck by the Corporation of the City of London, 1881—1893.* By C. P. Welch. From the Corporation of the City of London.

Mr. H. Montagu, V.P., exhibited a fourth-century silver stater of Leucas, of the Corinthian type, and with a beautiful figure of Hermes adjusting his sandal as an adjunct symbol (*cf.* B. M. Cat. Corinth, pl. 35, 21); also a very rare silver medal commemorating the departure from England for Gotha of Frederic II, Duke of Saxe-Gotha, in the ship Katherine. On the obverse is the legend TE NON PRAESENTE RIGEMVS, and on the reverse BREVI CERTVM QVO FATA FERANT,

KATHERINE, 1693. On the edge is FRIDERICO DVCI SAXONIAE EX ANGLIA FELICITER REDEVNTI ANNO MDCXCIII. Examples of this medal by Wermuth are to be found only in the Gotha and Dresden museums. Mr. Montagu also exhibited a penny of Æthelred II, bearing on the reverse the inscription PVLFMÆR MO GEOÐA.

Sir J. Evans read a paper on the Mint of Gothabyrig, the name of which occurs, A.D. 978—1039, on coins of Æthelred II, Cnut, and Harold I, under various forms. Hildebrand suggested that this place was probably Jedburgh, in the county of Roxburgh, a town which was at one time included in the kingdom of Northumbria. Sir J. Evans believed Gothabyrig to be the same place as the Juthanbirig mentioned by some of the Anglo-Saxon chroniclers, and he rejected as highly improbable the identification of the town with Jedburgh. On etymological grounds he arrived at the conclusion that the modern equivalent of Gothabyrig must be some such name as Idbury, and consequently that the village of Idbury, in Oxfordshire, was probably the place where the coins in question were struck. (See Vol. xv, p. 45.)

Mr. A. E. Packe read a note on a passage in the "Plampton Correspondence" (Camden Society), from which an agreement to pay 100 shillings seems to have been satisfied in 1464 by two payments (the second under the advice of counsel) of 53s. 4d. and 38s. 4d. The paper is printed in full in Vol. xv, p. 164.

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#### FEBRUARY 21, 1895.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

Professor William Ridgeway and Francis John Tillston, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid on the table:—



1. A System of Measures. By W. Donisthorpe. From the Author.

2. A History of Money in Ancient Countries. By A. del Mar. From the Author.

3. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xvi. Parts 1—2. From the Institute.

4. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Part III, 1894. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

5. Bulletin de Numismatique. Jan., 1895. From the Editor.

6. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Part III, 1894. From the Society.

The President moved the following Resolutions:—

(1) That this Meeting desires to express and to place on record the profound grief that it feels on account of the unexpected and premature decease of Mr. Montagu, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, who, by his constant attendance, his carefully-written papers and published works, as well as by the great liberality with which he exhibited the treasures of his unrivalled collections, did much to promote numismatic knowledge and the welfare and utility of the Society.

(2) That a copy of this Resolution be sent to Mrs. Montagu, together with an assurance of the sincere sympathy of the Society with her in her sad bereavement.

(8) That the Society as a tribute of respect to their late Vice-President do now adjourn.

These Resolutions were seconded by Mr. Alexander Durlacher and carried unanimously.

The Meeting then adjourned.

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MARCH 21, 1895.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*. Jan.—Feb., 1895. From the Society.

2. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. Band XIX. Heft. 4. From the Editor.

3. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*. Vol. xv. No. II. From the Society.

4. *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*. Vol. xvi. Part III. From the Institute.

A letter was read from Mrs. Montagu thanking the President and the Society for their vote of condolence with her on the occasion of the death of Mr. Montagu, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

Dr. F. P. Weber exhibited some portrait medals by David d'Angers (1834), A. Dubois (1872), Ringel d'Illzach (1886), and O. Roty (1886), representing the celebrated French chemist Chevreuil, who died in 1889, at the great age of one hundred and three years.

Mr. Durlacher exhibited an unpublished rose-noble of Edward IV, of the London mint, with m.m. Sun on *obv.*, and Crown on *rev.*

Dr. Barclay Head exhibited a large specimen of lapis Lydius, or touchstone, in illustration of a paper communicated by Professor W. Ridgeway as to how far the Greeks were able to determine the fineness of gold and silver coins. The writer drew attention to a passage in Theophrastus, 'De Lapidibus,' in which he describes a touchstone of superior quality found in the river Tmolus, which enabled the Greeks to discriminate between different quantities of alloy in gold and silver coins with extraordinary nicety. See Vol. xv, p. 104.

Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on the coinage of Lycia to the time of Alexander the Great. He arranged the series in five main divisions: (1) *circa* B.C. 520—480, coins characterized by irregular or decorated incuse reverses; (2) 500—460, *obv.* boar, *rev.* animal types; (3) same period, *obv.* boar or other animal, *rev.* triskeles; (4) 480—390, the main series of coins with inscriptions in the Lycian character; (5) the latest silver and early bronze, of which the lion's scalp is the characteristic type. The paper is printed in Vol. xv, p. 1.

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APRIL 25, 1895.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Revue numismatique*. Third Ser., Tom. xii. and Tom. xiii, Part I. From the Editors.

2. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. xiv. Part II. From the Society.

3. *Smithsonian Report*, 1893. From the Smithsonian Institute.

4. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. Bd. xx. Heft. 1. From the Editor.

5. *Revue belge de Numismatique*, 1895. Part II. From the Society.

6. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. v. Part I. From the Society.

7. *Rivista italiana di Numismatica*, 1895. Part I. From the Society.

8. *Revue suisse de Numismatique*, 1895. Parts V and VI. From the Society.

9. *Annuaire de Numismatique suisse*, 1894—5. Part II. From the Editor.

10. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xvi. Part IV. From the Institute.

11. Catalogue of the Coins collected by C. J. Rodgers. Part II: Miscellaneous Muhammadan Coins. From the Author.

12. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring, 1893, with Kunst og Haandwerk. Second Ser. Part I, Plates I—X., and Secretary's Report, 1844—1894. From the Society.

13. Trois monnaies frappées à Élincourt. By the Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

The President exhibited a specimen of the Wardrobe counter of Edward III, and gave descriptions of two other varieties of these rare pieces. See Vol. xv, p. 168.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited ten testoons of Edward VI, more or less debased, one especially, of 1551, with the lis mint-mark. This in Elizabeth's reign was countermarked with a greyhound, and ordered to pass current for 2½d. only. Those of somewhat better quality were countermarked with a port-cullis and were tarified at 4½d. Mr. Hoblyn also exhibited nine out of the eleven known varieties of impressions from the dies of James II's "Crown of Necessity," 1690, including an unpublished copper proof of the gun-metal crown differing in many details from the current coin.

Mr. Pinches exhibited a copy of a gold medal designed by Mr. G. Frampton for the University of Glasgow, and of the gold medal of the Royal College of Music for pianoforte playing.

Dr. Barclay Head exhibited some interesting unpublished varieties of the gold Philippus, and made some remarks on a recent find of these coins which he thought might throw some light upon the history of the period during which they were struck.

Mr. Grueber read a paper, contributed by Mr. L. A. D. Montague, on the meaning of the monogram on denarii struck by

L. Caesius and Ma. Fonteius, B.C. 88, which he argued had been wrongly interpreted both by Eckhel and Mommsen. In the writer's opinion the monogram stood simply for the word ROMA, every letter of which was contained in it. Printed in Vol. xv, p. 162.

The President and Dr. Head expressed their concurrence with this new explanation.

Mr. J. E. Pritchard contributed some "Notes on a Find of Roman Coins near Cadbury Camp (Clevedon), Somerset."

MAY 16, 1895.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1893. From the Society.

2. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1894. Part IV. From the Society.

3. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique*, 1895. March—April. From the Society.

4. *Archæologia Aeliana*. Vol. vii. Part I. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

5. *Topografia e Numismatica dell' antica Imera e di Terme*. By E. Gabrici (Milan, 1894). From the Author.

Mr. Grueber exhibited a medalet struck in imitation of engraving, *obv.* bust of Queen Elizabeth, *rev.* Phoenix and motto "Semper eadem"; also a Dutch satirical medal referring to the condition of France at the opening of the campaign of Louis XIV in the Netherlands in 1709.

Lord Grantley exhibited a penny of Offa with an unpublished reverse type.

Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited a "George" noble of Henry VIII with HIBERI instead of HIBERNI on the obverse, and the word NEQVIT at full length on the reverse.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited three half-groats of Edward III and Henry VII, being new or unpublished varieties.

Mr. Grueber read a paper by the late Mr. A. E. Packe on the coins of Stephen. The writer said that, owing to the state of anarchy which prevailed in Stephen's time, it was almost impossible to arrange his coinage in strict chronological sequence. He suggested, however, that the two main types of Stephen's coins with full face and profile heads were contemporary and not successive issues, that the coins which represent the king holding a standard were struck in commemoration of the famous Battle of the Standard, and that they were probably minted at York. The writer also discussed the coins ascribed to William, the second son of Stephen, Roger, Earl of Warwick, &c.

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JUNE 20, 1895.

#### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S.,  
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

William Ernest Marsh, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society, and M. Théodore Reinach and M. H. Sauvairo were elected Honorary Members.

The Report of the Council was then read to the meeting as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With great regret they have to announce the loss by death of the following ten Ordinary Members :—

M. H. Bobart, Esq.  
 Sir Edward H. Bunbury, Bart.  
 Hyde Clarke, Esq.  
 Rev. M. W. Cokayne.  
 Hyman Montagu, Esq.  
 Alfred E. Packe, Esq.  
 R. Stuart Poole, Esq.  
 Sir Henry Rawlinson.  
 The Earl of Selborne.  
 George White, Esq.

And of the following three Honorary Members :—

Dr. H. Grote, of Hanover.  
 A. W. Hart, Esq., of New York.  
 Dr. Conrad Leemans, of Leyden.

Also, by resignation, of the following nine Ordinary Members.

Rev. G. C. Allen.  
 J. W. Brooke, Esq.  
 R. English, Esq.  
 M. Charles Farcinet.  
 C. S. Jefferies, Esq.

Lieut. Col. B. Lowsley.  
 M. G. Schlumberger.  
 The Hon. Reginald Talbot.  
 The Hon. George Hill Trevor.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the following ten Ordinary Members :—

John Armstrong Foster, Esq., Nov. 15, 1894.  
 Henry Perry, Esq., Nov. 15, 1894.  
 Hartwell D. Grissell, Esq., F.S.A., Dec. 20, 1894.  
 Walter Elliot Murphy, Esq., Dec. 20, 1894.  
 John Cooper, Esq., Jan. 17, 1895.  
 Talfourd Ely, Esq., M.A., Jan. 17, 1895.  
 George Macdonald, Esq., Jan. 17, 1895.  
 Professor William Ridgeway, Feb. 21, 1895.  
 Francis John Tillston, Esq., Feb. 21, 1895.  
 William Ernest Marsh, Esq., June 20, 1895.

And of two Honorary Members :—

M. Théodore Reinach.

M. H. Sauvaire.

According to the Report of the Hon. Secretaries the numbers of the Members are as follows :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total
June, 1894 . . . . .	275	21	296
Since elected . . . . .	10	2	12
Restored . . . . .	1	—	1
	286	23	309
Deceased . . . . .	10	3	13
Resigned . . . . .	9	—	9
June, 1895 . . . . .	267	20	287

The Council have further to announce that they have unanimously awarded the Medal of the Society to Professor Dr. Theodor Mommsen, in recognition of the brilliant services which he has rendered to the Science of Numismatics, especially in regard to the chronology and metrology of the Roman Republican and Imperial coinage.

The Treasurer's Report—which shows a balance of £322 8s. 6d. as compared with £260 7s. 1d. of last year—is as follows :—



Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1894, to June, 1895.  
Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON IN ACCOUNT WITH ALFRED EVELYN COPP, TREASURER. Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing Chronicle, Part I. of 1894	40	17	3
ditto ditto Part II. "	42	11	8
ditto ditto Part III. "	48	2	7
ditto ditto Part IV. "	37	0	0
The Autotype Company, Plates	49	14	4
The Royal Asiatic Society, one year's rent due June, 1895	30	0	0
Mrs. E. Harper, for Attendance	6	6	0
Ditto for Tea, Coffee, &c.	4	15	11
Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co., for Bookbinding	5	13	9
Messrs. J. Davy & Sons, for Printing	2	19	0
Messrs. Walker & Boutall, for Photographing	5	3	0
Messrs. Walker & Boutall, for Coins, &c.	1	1	0
Mr. J. Anderson, for Drawing Coin	2	12	4
Stationery, Receipt Books, and Letter Books	0	15	0
Fire Insurance	0	7	5
Messrs. Hachette & Co., for Dictionnaire des Antiquités	0	4	6
Mr. J. Pinches, for Engraving	4	0	0
Secretaries, for Postages, &c.	6	0	0
Treasurer, for Postages, Receipts, and Stationery	6	8	3
Collector (Mr. A. W. Hunt), for Commission and Postages	322	8	6
Balance in hand	£617	0	7

Examined with the Vouchers, compared as to additions, and found correct.

ALFRED E. COPP,  
HONORARY TREASURER.

A. PREVOST  
RICHARD A. HOBLYN } *Auditors.*

20th June, 1895.

After the Report of the Council had been read, the President presented the Society's Medal to Dr. Barclay Head, to forward to Professor Dr. Mommsen.

The President's Address on the occasion was as follows :—

Dr. Head,—

I must request you as one of our Secretaries to receive the medal, which has been awarded by the Council to our Honorary Member, Professor Theodor Mommsen, in recognition of his long-continued and brilliant services to numismatic science, especially in connection with the Roman coinage and metrology. In conveying it to him, will you express to him not only our high appreciation of his labours, but our earnest hope that he may long be spared to adorn that sphere of literary and archæological activity in which he is so shining a light. So long ago as 1858 a paper on the weight of Sassanian coins was contributed to the *Numismatic Chronicle* by Professor Mommsen, and this was followed by a note on Greek weights in 1868. The communication of these papers to the Society proves the interest that he took in our prosperity, but between those two dates appeared the monumental work, the *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens*, with which the name of Mommsen will ever be associated. The civilised world is, however, still further indebted to him for having set all national jealousies on one side, and joined the late Duc de Blacas and M. J. de Witte in bringing out the enlarged French version of his work, the *Histoire de la Monnaie romaine*, in four volumes, between 1865 and 1875. It is more especially in respect of this most remarkable work, a mine of knowledge to which every one interested in Roman numismatics must of necessity have recourse, that the award has been made. I trust that he will receive the medal as a small token of the esteem and regard with which he is held by all students of Roman history in this country. We may also take this occasion of congratulating him on the com-

pliment lately paid him by the Académie des Inscriptions of the French Institute.

Dr. Barclay Head returned thanks on behalf of Professor Mommsen in the following words :—

Sir John,—

It is to me a great honour to stand here this evening in the place of the veteran Historian of ancient Rome, and to receive at your hands this token of our appreciation (the only one which we are able to offer) of the grand work which has been done in past years, and which I am rejoiced to say is still being done by this Nestor among antiquaries. I hold in my hand, and will now read to this meeting, Professor Mommsen's letter to me, in which he expresses his gratitude to our Society for this slight token of our recognition of his services to the Science of Numismatics. The letter runs as follows :—

“Dear Sir,—You inform me, that the medal of the London Numismatic Society has been awarded to me by the Council. I accept, not without some inward contrition. Though I have published several works, I have never pretended to be a numismatist. My historical researches led me in early years to understand that history cannot be worked at without the coins, the only department of the records of civilised ages which has come down to us in comparative integrity. The soil is a better and surer recipient of ancient remains than the libraries, and the coins, by good fortune rarely *unique*, present a complete series as compared with the detached fragments preserved by the epigraphical tradition. So I came to study numismatics. But very soon I saw that what I wanted was not to be found in a literature which, after Eckhel, has been left mostly to dilettanti and shopmen ; and, as a young man and a rash one, I tried to write, myself, what I wanted to get written. I am fully aware that my numismatic works are far from satisfac-

tory ; nevertheless, they have contributed to bridge over the chasm between numismatics and history, and in this sense I accept with sincere gratitude the distinction the London Society is about to confer upon me.

“ Truly yours,

“ MOMMSEN.”

For my own part, after reading this interesting letter in which Mommsen tells us how he came to write his *History of the Coinage of Rome*, I may say that what amazes me most in it is the modest disclaimer of the writer to rank as a Numismatist.

Though he may be neither a collector nor a dilettante attracted to the study by an instinctive delight in coins as specimens of the die-engraver's art, and though he may care not one “ rap ” (to use a good old numismatic phrase) whether such and such a coin be rare or common, beautiful or barbarous, he, nevertheless, has always recognised the inestimable value of ancient coins as permanent historical documents, “ strange face to face vestiges of vanished aeons,” as Carlyle somewhere says, and as such he has approached coins from the standpoint of the historian, which after all is perhaps the only standpoint from which numismatics can be regarded as a science.

No one numismatist is able to boast of a thorough knowledge of all the multifarious branches of this wide study, nor do we all seek from coins the same sort of information. Some of us consult them as the grammar of art and archaeology, others admire them as galleries of portraits, others have recourse to them as to a storehouse of mythological lore, while others, again, are interested in them chiefly as illustrating the history of currency in past ages, and some others, simply as an article of commerce to be turned into the currency of the present day, at a profit.

Nevertheless, all of us who devote our time and study to the elucidation of any one important branch of numismatics, what-

ever our original motive to such study may have been, have, I venture to think, a just claim to be called numismatists. Mommsen's motive was, perhaps, the highest of all, the building of the bridge, as he calls it, over the chasm between Roman coins and Roman history, on firm chronological foundations. Surely, if any one of us is a numismatist Mommsen has a right to the title, and by awarding him this medal we claim him as such. How great, indeed, the value is that he attaches to the science of numismatics, we may gather from the manner in which he has chosen to deal with the fund of 25,000 marks subscribed by his friends and disciples in all lands on the occasion of the jubilee of his doctorate in November, 1893, and presented to him as a testimonial. What has he done with it? Handed it over bodily to the Berlin Academy of Sciences, to be expended on the compilation and publication of a complete *Corpus* of all known Greek coins, of which exhaustive work the first volume is, I understand, already well advanced towards completion. Here, at any rate, is a practical test of the importance of the science of numismatics in Mommsen's judgment, and a signal proof that his interest in numismatics has not flagged in his old age.

The President then delivered the following address:—

In once more addressing this Society at one of its Annual General Meetings I may again congratulate it on its satisfactory condition, both numerically and financially. Although the hand of death has been busy among us, removing more than one of those on whose presence we so much relied for the satisfactory proceedings at our meetings, and though no less than nine of our members have resigned, we still number 267 members as against 275 last year, and our balance in hand is about £10 more than last year, exclusive of a legacy of £50, to be subsequently mentioned. These facts prove the interest that is taken in this country in numismatic pursuits, an interest the exist-

ence of which has been in another manner proved by the high prices that have of late been realised both for coins and medals.

I must now proceed to call attention to the services of some of those members, who have been removed from among us by death.

Among the many heavy losses which during the past year the Society has sustained is that of Mr. Hyman Montagu, F.S.A., one of our Vice-Presidents, who by his constant attendance at our meetings, his readiness to take part in our discussions, his numerous contributions to numismatic knowledge, and his uniform courtesy and consideration for others had endeared himself to all our members. To myself his loss appears irreparable, for when from circumstances I was unable to be present at your meetings, I knew that so long as Mr. Montagu occupied this chair the Society was no loser by my absence.

From his early life he had been a collector, but principally in the direction of natural history, and as a young man his application to business as a solicitor left him but little leisure for other pursuits. He had, however, already an extensive collection of coins when he joined this Society in January, 1882. At that time he was paying attention principally to the British and English series, but in after years he by no means restricted himself to that series. His fine collection of Jewish coins exhibited at the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition in 1887, and his Greek collection, with a part of which we made acquaintance in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1892, comprise numerous rare coins in splendid condition; while his cabinet of Roman gold coins, numbering some 1,300 pieces, is probably the finest that it has ever been the fortune of a private individual to form. His series of medals relating to English history is also, I believe, unique of its kind. The secret of forming such collections is known but to few. The doing so involves, however, many somewhat rare personal qualifications—first, an intuitive knowledge of the value and importance of coins, strengthened by much reading and handling of the coins themselves; secondly,

a confidence in one's own judgment ; and, lastly, facilities for travel and the possession of ample pecuniary means to take advantage of any opportunity that may arise. These, and probably other, qualifications Mr. Montagu possessed ; and his purchases of the Addington and Brice collections of English coins, of the Hoffmann collection of Greek coins, and of a large proportion of the Ponton d'Amécourt collection of Roman gold coins were not only judiciously made, but at once placed him in the first rank of collectors in each of these departments. To the good use that he made of these collections the pages of our *Chronicle* amply testify, and had he been with us but a few more years we should have been still further indebted to him, especially in the department of Greek and Roman numismatics. Of his papers in the *Chronicle*, amounting to nearly thirty in number, I need hardly append a list. They are all marked by great care and attention to detail, and by an acquaintance with the work of others. In addition to these, he published in 1885 *The Copper, Tin, and Bronze Coinage, and Patterns for Coins of England*, which has already reached a second edition, and is the standard work upon the subject. His premature decease took place on the 18th of February last after a short, but severe illness, at the age of fifty years. Our meeting on February 20th was adjourned immediately on the completion of the formal business, as a tribute of respect to his memory. By his will he bequeathed to the Society a legacy of £50, to be applied towards the advancement of numismatic science. Possibly this sum may form the nucleus of a fund the proceeds of which will from time to time be applied in aid of numismatic research.

Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole was not only one of our oldest but also one of our most distinguished members. He was born in the year 1832, and on his mother's side came of a family which had gained high repute in Oriental literature. With his uncle, Mr. Edward Lane, the author of the *Arabic Lexicon*, he spent seven years of his boyhood in Egypt, and there acquired that taste for Egyptian antiquities and for Arabic literature and

numismatics for which he was afterwards distinguished. Before attaining the age of seventeen years he communicated to the *Literary Gazette* a series of essays on Egyptian chronology, which in 1851 were collected and republished under the title of *Horæ Egyptiacæ*.

In 1852 he made his first start in life, having, through the influence of the Duke of Northumberland, himself an antiquary, been appointed to a post in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum. In 1861, when the Department of Coins and Medals first had a separate existence, with our former President, Mr. Vaux, as Keeper, Mr. Poole was attached to that department, becoming Assistant Keeper in 1866, and succeeding Mr. Vaux as Keeper on his retirement in 1870.

Although a Catalogue of English Medals had been prepared by Mr. Hawkins as a private undertaking, and had been adopted by the Trustees of the British Museum, and partly set in type by 1852, its publication had been suspended, and it was not until the days of Mr. Poole's Keepership that systematic catalogues of the various numismatic collections in the British Museum were published. These catalogues now form a series of nearly forty volumes, which have been of immense service in promoting numismatic knowledge, and of which this country may be justly proud.

The first volume, that relating to the Greek Coins of Italy, was in part compiled by Mr. Poole himself, and issued in 1873. The volumes dealing with the coins of the Ptolemaic Kings of Egypt (1883); the Shahs of Persia (1887); and Alexandria (1892), were entirely compiled by him.

The contents of the other Catalogues of all classes of coins were minutely and conscientiously verified and checked by him. The names of the actual compilers of these Catalogues, Head, Gardner, Grueber, Wroth, Keary, Stanley Lane-Poole, and De la Couperie, are too well known for me to do more than make a bare mention of them here. In 1893, after more than forty years' service, Mr. Poole retired from the Museum, but



already his health was failing, and although he had congenial occupation in the Professorship of Archæology in University College, London, his old energy was gone and he passed away on February 28th last. His services to Archæology and Literature had been recognised by the degree of LL.D. which was conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge, and by his having been elected a *Correspondant de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* of the French Institut in 1876.

I must now say a few words with regard to his connection with this Society, of which he became a member in April, 1853. In the previous month he communicated to it his paper on "The Copper Coinage of the Byzantine Emperors," and subsequently three other papers, partly on Roman and partly on Oriental coins, followed, which are published in the first series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. To the second series he contributed fourteen articles, principally on Greek numismatics, among which are his well-known essays on the coins of the Ptolemies. The last paper with which he favoured us was on "Athenian Coin-Engravers in Italy," which appeared in 1883. His time was indeed too fully occupied with the compilation and revision of the Museum Catalogues to permit him to undertake other numismatic work. It is only three years ago that, just before his retirement from the Museum, we welcomed him among us as the recipient of our Medal, and on that occasion I expressed a hope that he might long be spared to combine his numismatic knowledge with archæological teaching—a hope, alas! not destined to be realised. Many in this room will feel that in the person of Mr. Stuart Poole they have lost not only a guide in archæology, numismatics, and Eastern lore, but also a warm personal friend. I may add that he and I were Joint Secretaries of this Society in the year 1855, and for two years afterwards.

In the person of Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart., G.C.B., who died on March 5th last, this country has to mourn the loss of one of its most brilliant Oriental scholars and one of its most distinguished Indian statesmen. Born in Oxfordshire in 1810,

he joined the service of the East India Company in 1827, and soon ranked as an accomplished linguist. In 1833, in company with other English officers, he was sent on a mission to Persia, and there first made acquaintance with those mysterious cuneiform inscriptions, to the study of which so much of his after life was devoted. It has, indeed, been mainly through his labours and sagacity, that the interpretation of the cuneiform texts, especially the Persian and Semitic, has been placed on a firm and secure foundation, though many others have laboured in the same field, and have materially aided the advance of our knowledge of Persian, Assyrian, and Babylonian archæology. His work in this direction has been and will be recorded in other places, and we are here more particularly concerned with his numismatic attainments. His interest in coins was manifested by his having been a member of this Society for a period of nearly forty years, he having been elected on November 20th, 1856, and by his constant endeavours to improve, when occasion arose, the collections in the British Museum, of which institution he was a Trustee. He was, moreover, a collector of coins, but notwithstanding all these conditions, there is no record in the Indices to the *Numismatic Chronicle* of any contribution from his pen. Indirectly, however, he brought under the notice of the Society not a few remarkable coins, such, for instance, as the tetradrachm of Demetrius Soter and his wife Laodice struck on a coin of Timarchus, described by Mr. Vaux in 1849.<sup>1</sup>

More remarkable still are the Greek and Bactrian coins from his cabinet, described by Mr. Vaux, and illustrated by two plates, in 1850,<sup>2</sup> among which were a decadrachm of Alexander the Great, and a tetradrachm of the Bactrian Antimachus. In a subsequent paper, printed in 1856,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Vaux gave an account of a small collection of coins, chiefly Greek, acquired mainly through the instrumentality of Sir Henry Rawlinson,

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<sup>1</sup> *N.C.*, xiii. 11.<sup>2</sup> *N.C.*, xiii. 70.<sup>3</sup> *N.C.*, xviii. 137.

which comprised two coins of Molon, Satrap of Media, then for the first time made known.

Sir Henry Rawlinson's eminence as an archæologist was recognised by honorary degrees conferred upon him by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, by the Prussian order *Pour le Mérite*, and by his membership of the French Institute, *Académie des Inscriptions*. To him and to the late Sir Henry Layard this country is indebted for the most extensive and important collection of the historic remains of the ancient Kingdoms of the East that has ever been brought together.

In Sir Edward Herbert Bunbury, we have lost not only an accomplished classical scholar, but one who fully understood the value of coins as exponents of ancient geography and mythology. He graduated at Cambridge as Senior Classic in 1833, and took the Chancellor's Medal, and during the whole sixty and odd years that have since elapsed, retained a devotion to classical studies, though at one time he sat in Parliament as member for the borough of Bury St. Edmunds. Much of his work, however, was not given to the world in an independent form, but was incorporated with that of other writers in those valuable storehouses of learning, *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, and the corresponding volumes of *Geography*. Any one studying those dictionaries, and especially the latter, cannot fail to remark the abundance and importance of the articles signed E. H. B., and the frequency of numismatic illustrations accompanying them. His *History of Ancient Geography*, published in 1879, still holds the highest rank as an authority. His private collection of Greek and Roman coins was extensive and valuable, and the former on many occasions afforded subjects on which he made communications to this Society. The earliest of those, on the date of some coins of Himera, was given us in March, 1845.<sup>4</sup> His next important paper, "On Some

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<sup>4</sup> *N.C.*, vii., 179.

unpublished Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great," and "On Some unpublished Coins of Lysimachus I," appeared in 1868 and 1869.<sup>5</sup> Other articles on coins of Athens and Eleusis, additional tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, coins of the Seleucidan Kings of Syria, and unpublished cistophori, followed in 1881 and 1883.<sup>6</sup> Since that date advancing age and failing health have prevented him from making further communications to the Society.

He was born in 1811, succeeded his brother Sir Charles Bunbury, the well-known botanist, in the baronetcy in 1886, and died in March of the present year.

Mr. Hyde Clarke was a man of very varied tastes and learning, having written on many subjects—political, financial, philological, and anthropological. He was born in 1815, and after some diplomatic service in connection with the Spanish and Portuguese wars of succession, practised as an engineer. In 1849 he was employed to report on the telegraph system in India, and again, in 1857, he was engaged in that country on railway matters. In England he assisted in founding the London and County Bank in 1836, and the Council of Foreign Bondholders in 1868. It was, however, mainly in philology that his interests lay, and the number of languages and dialects with which he had a greater or less acquaintance was marvellous. Any account of his numerous essays on points in connection with the languages and mythology of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, would be more in place at the Anthropological Institute, of which he was a Vice-President, than here. He was, however, a member of this Society from 1867, and occasionally attended our meetings. He possessed, moreover, a large collection of Turkish coins. A note of his on the cult of Apollo Smintheus, at Pergamon, will be found in the *Chronicle*.<sup>7</sup> He was known and respected by an unusually large circle of friends, by whom he will be much missed.

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<sup>5</sup> *N.C.*, N.S., viii., 309; ix., 1.

<sup>6</sup> *N.C.*, 3rd S., i., 73; and iii. 1, 65, 181.

<sup>7</sup> 3rd S., ii., 352.

Among those who within the last ten or twelve years have joined the Society, there were few who more constantly attended our meetings, or who took a warmer interest in our proceedings, than Mr. Alfred E. Packe, a paper from whose pen was read at our last meeting. He was elected into this Society in December, 1884, and the first paper that he communicated to the Society was in January, 1889, on the lis mint-mark on gold coins of Henry VI's restoration. This was followed, in 1891, by some notes on the coins of Henry VII, and in 1892 by a paper on the types and legends of the mediæval and later coins of England. In 1893 he gave us a paper on the coinage of the Norman kings; while, during the present session, we have had two papers from him, one on a passage in the Plumptre correspondence, possibly bearing on the change of the Noble in 1464; and the other, read after his decease, on the coinage of Stephen. In all these papers an acquaintance with contemporary documents, and an amount of legal acumen, were displayed, which make us most keenly to regret that one who gave such promise of throwing light on obscure questions of English mediæval numismatics, should have been so prematurely removed from among us. He was carried off by gastritis following influenza in the month of April last.

The Right Hon. Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne, twice Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, was born in 1812, and died on May 4th, 1895. After a distinguished career at Oxford, where he took a first-class degree in classics, carried off the Newdegate prize for English verse, and gained the Ireland scholarship, he was called to the bar, where he soon acquired a high reputation, becoming a Q.C. in 1849, Solicitor-General in 1861, and two years subsequently Attorney-General. Though immersed in legal occupations, he always preserved his literary tastes, and his *Book of Praise* and some other volumes on Church affairs had a wide circulation. His connection with this Society originated in a somewhat remarkable manner. In the year 1873, at a time when he was Lord Chancellor, a hoard of nearly

30,000 Roman coins, which had been deposited at the end of the third century, was found upon his Lordship's property at Blackmoor, Hants. In this discovery he was much interested, and promptly set to work in order to acquire sufficient numismatic knowledge to arrange and appreciate the coins. He then made a complete examination of the whole hoard, which his classified list shows to have comprised 29,788 pieces, and in March,\* 1877, communicated to us a detailed account, mentioning the types given in Cohen, and giving descriptions of all those not comprised in that work. A more remarkable monument of skill and patience on the part of one whose avocations were so numerous and important, it would be difficult to find. A less detailed account was also furnished by Lord Selborne, as a supplement to a new edition of *White's Selborne*, published shortly before 1877, in which year he became a member of this Society. Of his amiable personal character I cannot speak too highly. There are few to whom it has been given to be so greatly loved and esteemed.

From our list of honorary members we have lost three names, two of whom had been upon it for a period of nearly fifty-eight years, their owners having been elected in 1837, shortly after the foundation of the Society. They are those of Dr. Hermann Grote, of Hanover, and Dr. Conrad Leemans, of Leiden.

Dr. Grote, who was well known both as a herald and a numismatist, was born on December 27th, 1802, and died on March 8th, 1895, in his ninety-third year. In his young days he studied law and history at Göttingen, and settling at Hanover, founded the Historical Society of Lower Saxony. From 1834 to 1844 he edited the *Numismatische Zeitung*, which, after its first volume, became the *Blätter für Münzkunde*, being one of the pioneers of German periodical numismatic literature. This was followed by the *Münzstudien*, which appeared at

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\* N.C., N.S., xvii. 90.

irregular intervals up to 1877. The title of the *Numismatische Zeitung* became vested, after the first volume, in Dr. Leitzmann, who continued the publication at Weissensee until 1871. In 1837 Dr. Grote became Curator of the Royal Numismatic Cabinet at Hanover, but on the death of King Ernest Augustus, in 1851, he resigned his appointment and retired into private life. In 1868-9 he edited the *Numismatischer Anzeiger* for the Numismatic Society of Hanover, and subsequently, from 1875 to 1881, the *Blätter für Münzfreunde*. He was the author of a long series of papers in these various periodicals, mostly relating to mediæval numismatics. Dr. Conrad Leemans, who was the Curator of the Museum at Leiden, was better known as an archæologist and ethnographer than as a numismatist; and Mr. Wellington Hart, a third on our list of losses, as an historian.

I must now briefly pass in review some of the principal communications that have been made to the Society during the last twelve months.

In Greek numismatics we have had, as I am glad to say has been now usual for several years, some important and interesting communications. Foremost among these, at all events in point of date, I must place the contributions to Sicilian numismatics brought before us by my son, Mr. Arthur Evans, at our meeting in October last. A portion of these contributions was read in December, 1893, and, in my last Anniversary Address, I noticed the acquisition of the rare Dâmareteion, and the light thrown by recent discoveries on the frauds of Dionysius. The hoard of archaic and transitional coins recently found at Villabate, near Palermo, forms the subject of the third part of the contributions. This treasure consisted of not less than 147 silver coins, and showed in a remarkable manner the constituents of the Sicilian currency about 450 B.C. More than half of the coins came from the mint of Syracuse. Those of Akragas and Gela come next in numerical order, then those of Messina, Leontinoi and Himera, together forming nearly a quarter of the hoard, while the mint of Rhegium, over the

water, is represented by but a single specimen. The tetradrachms of Segesta and of Panormos, close to Villabate, were as yet unknown. As might have been expected from so large a hoard, there were several rare coins present, one of them of Gela showing the entire man-headed bull in a galloping or swimming attitude on the obverse, while another coin of Leontinoi seems to give an artist's signature on the reverse as early as 479 B.C. The other principal points in connection with this hoard I mentioned last year.

Our honorary member, M. Six, of Amsterdam, has again favoured us with a paper on inedited or uncertain Greek coins. One of these, a tetradrachm of Aetolia, with a youthful portrait on the obverse, he assigns to Demetrius, King of Macedon, rather than to Antiochus III of Syria, to whom Prof. Gardner has attributed it. Another of Prof. Gardner's attributions to the same king, in the case of a coin of Carystos, is also called in question, and the coin assigned to Alexander, son of Crateros, King of Eubœa. An identification of the Abdsusin of coins with the Sysinas of historians is suggested, and coins of Sigeum are attributed to the Athenian strategus Chares, while others assigned to Mithridates of Cios and Carene, to Gorgion, dynast of Gambreion, to Gongylos of Myrina, to Autophratades of Tarsus, to Myriandos, Baana, and Bodostor, and to the town of Anchiale, in Cilicia, close the list. The paper is of great value as giving many undoubted historical details, and is full of most ingenious suggestions, but until we have heard the deliberate opinions of M. Babelon and others on the new points raised, and know what effect these opinions may produce on the mind of M. Six, there are some points in this remarkable paper on which we may suspend our final judgement.

It is to M. Six that the credit is due of having first reduced the study of the Lycian coinage into a satisfactory system, though the foundations of such a system were laid many years ago by Sir Charles Fellows. M. Babelon has, to a great extent, adopted the views of M. Six, but new coins which have come to light



justify Mr. Hill in attempting some rearrangement of the series. He divides the coins from those of the earliest date in the sixth century B.C. down to the time of Pericles, *circa* B.C. 350, into five groups, into the details of which I need not, however, enter. Of the first three groups a complete classification is given, while in the last two, only additions to M. Six's list are noted. Though much light has been thrown on this enigmatical series of coins, and the true meaning of most of the Lycian characters has been determined, much remains to be done with regard to the identification and the history of the dynasts whose names occur upon the coins, and Mr. Hill's paper will be found indispensable by all future students of the Lycian language or numismatics.

In his paper entitled, "How far could the Greeks determine the Fineness of Gold and Silver Coins?" Professor Ridgeway has broached a very curious question. That a touchstone was used for testing gold is a well-recognised fact, and that the Lydian stone was the best for testing purposes is also well known, but the exact method by which the fineness of the metal that was examined could be determined is still a mystery. Acids do not seem to have been employed, and even if standard bars or needles of different known alloys were used for comparison, the colours of the strokes on the stone could hardly have enabled the most experienced eye to detect the minute differences which are claimed as discernible by the Greeks, going down to 1 part of alloy to 143 of pure metal. That the Greeks in the days of the electrum coinage should have been able to ascertain with nicety the proportion of gold and silver in each piece, appears to me, I must confess, more than doubtful. Even had the alloy been copper it would seem impossible. My doubts are not lessened when I remember that it was not until the time of Hieron II, say 250 B.C., that the method of determining the proportions of gold and silver in a mixed metal by the method of specific gravity was invented by Archimedes. Had touchstones then sufficed, our

modern advertisers would have never become possessed of their favourite word *Eureka*—a word, I may observe in passing, which is always deprived of its aspirate.

Our honorary Secretary, Dr. Head, has called our attention to a remarkable hoard of staters struck in close imitation of those of Philip II of Macedon, but evidently of subsequent date. Curiously enough, the heads upon some of them seem to be human portraits rather than representations of Apollo, or whoever the divinity may be that the *Philippus* proper exhibits. We know how coins of Athens were struck in other countries on account of their being a favourite commercial medium of exchange, like the Pillar-dollars of modern times, and the long series of Gaulish, British, and other imitations of the *Philippus* is familiar to us all. The coins, however, exhibited by Dr. Head, appear to have been struck in Asia Minor, probably 100 to 150 years after the death of Philip, and thus afford another instance of the popularity of the “*regale nomisma Philippos*.”

In accordance with a laudable custom, Mr. Wroth has furnished us with some notes on the more remarkable Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1894. The selection is made from among nearly 650 specimens of the Greek class in various metals, and I can only here refer to a few of the selected coins. Among the gold coins may be noted two of the rare double-staters of Philip II of Macedon, an early half-stater of Thasos, and a curious stater of Pergamum, possibly struck under Herakles, the son of Alexander the Great. Among the silver coins one of Melibœa in Thessaly, the first of that town in silver that has come to light, an early drachma of Methydrium in Thessaly, a drachma of Sybrita, a singular didrachm, possibly of Priansos, and an unpublished cistophorus of Sardes, may be cited. Many of the copper coins also are rare and interesting, as, for instance, that of Cyme, with a representation of the “*Eirene and Plutos*” group and one of Codrula in Pisidia, which is the first of that town that the Museum possesses.

On Roman numismatics we have had but few communications. Mr. Leopold A. D. Montague has, however, made a novel suggestion as to the meaning of a monogram  $\mathbb{R}$  on some coins of the Caesia and Fonteia family, which has usually been read as AP. Eckhel and Cohen regarded this as signifying either Apollo or Argentum Publicum, while Mommsen and Babelon incline towards Apollo. Mr. Montague, however, suggests that  $\mathbb{R} \diamond \mathbb{M} \mathbb{A}$  may be intended, a suggestion in which I am inclined to concur. The form of the  $\mathbb{A}$  with the V-shaped cross-bar is very unusual, but is readily accounted for if the lower part of the letter has to do duty as an M. It is worth calling attention to the fact that the lozenge-shaped  $\diamond$  and the peculiar  $\mathbb{A}$  recur on coins of the Mercian Offa.

The only other paper on Roman coins was by Mr. J. E. Pritchard, who favoured us with an account of a series found near Cadbury Camp, Clevedon. Even when the coins themselves present no types of special rarity or interest, it seems always worth while to preserve some record of their finding. In the present instance, a few coins of interest, such as those of Carausius, with the AVGGG of the three Augusti, were found.

Communications relating to the Saxon period were limited to one, which recorded an attempt of my own to determine the locality of the mint of Gothabyrig, where pennies were struck under Æthelred II, Cnut, and Harold I. I have tried to identify the place with the Juthanbirig of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, where Archbishop Wulstan was confined in A.D. 852, and also with the modern Idbury in Oxfordshire, where an ancient and extensive camp still exists. Whether my identifications be right or wrong, I think that the claims of Jedburgh are now out of court.

In later English numismatics we have had several interesting communications. Two of these were from the pen of the late Mr. Packe, whose untimely loss we all deplore. In one of them he attempted a new arrangement of the coins of Stephen,

arguing that his pennies with the full and side-faced portraits do not belong to successive issues, but were contemporary. He further suggests that the coins with the flag commemorate the famous Battle of the Standard, and were probably struck at York.

The other communication from Mr. Packe relates to a passage in the Plumpton Correspondence which suggests that an acute debtor who had originally owed 100 shillings, and had paid 4 marks on account, took advantage of the value of the noble being raised at Michaelmas, 1464, from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d. by paying, not only the balance of his account at the new valuation of the noble, but also reckoning the eight nobles he had paid as having been worth 66s. 8d. instead of 53s. 4d., their value at the time of payment. Ingenious as this suggestion may be, there is something to be said on the other side. In the first place, had advantage been taken of the change in value of the noble it seems strange that no allusion to it should have been made in the letter relating to the payment; and in the second place, there is always a possibility of some mistake having been made in copying the correspondence. If, for instance, the copyist by mistake wrote four marks instead of five the whole mystery would be solved, as 5 marks = 66s. 8d. which plus the 33s. 4d. subsequently paid would exactly make up the 100s. originally due.

Our late Vice-President, Mr. Montagu, in addition to numerous exhibitions, has communicated some valuable papers. In one of these, which relates to the coinage of De Bury at Durham, he cited some important passages in the *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense* referring to the detention in London of the dies for the episcopal coinage, about which Bishop de Bury wrote to a friend in London. There seems to be no doubt that coins were struck at Durham under De Bury, whatever may be the types that will ultimately be assigned to him.

Mr. Montagu has also supplied us with lists of a large number of unpublished gold coins, both of Elizabeth and of James I.

Mr. Lawrence has given us an account of a hoard of silver coins ranging from the days of Edward III, to those of Edward IV, and has suggested the attribution of a new class of York pennies to the latter king. These are of the first or heavy coinage of Edward, and appear to have been struck under George Nevil, Archbishop of York, whose initial G they bear.

The modern coinage of the Transvaal Republic, bearing the effigy of President Krüger, and struck in 1892 and 1898, has been brought under our notice, and an error in the form of the waggon in the arms of the Transvaal, which led to the suppression of one of the issues, has been pointed out.

Dr. Frederic P. Weber has returned to the portrait medal of Paracelsus, about which he wrote in 1893, and has still further illustrated it by copies of engraved portraits dated 1538 and 1540, the medal itself bearing the date of 1541, the year in which he died.

In Oriental Numismatics we have printed a paper on the coinage of the Ephthalites, or White Huns, from the pen of our late lamented member, Sir Alexander Cunningham, edited by Mr. E. J. Rapson. It appeared in part in the *Proceedings of the Oriental Congress* in 1892, but in the *Chronicle* it is given in a more extended form, with illustrations and descriptions of the coins. The valuable series of essays on the coins of the later Indo-Scythians is thus rendered complete.

Dr. Codrington has also favoured us with an exhaustive paper on the more modern coinages of Cutch and Kāthiāwār.

Our work during the past year has, therefore, covered a very large field both in time and space, and we may venture to look back upon it with no small degree of satisfaction.

Among recent numismatic publications I may call attention to the *British Museum Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*, compiled by Mr. Wroth, who has also written a valuable introduction to it. This and the map that is given form most valuable accessories, as in the Introduction there is a

short account given of the history and geographical position of the various towns at which the coins were struck, which to some extent relieves the extreme dryness of a mere catalogue. It is, to my mind, a question whether it would not add to the interest and utility of these catalogues if the notices of the towns, their cult, and history, were brought into more immediate juxtaposition with the lists of the coins struck in their mints. It is also a question whether some of the important pieces of which the British Museum as yet possesses no specimen might not with advantage be briefly mentioned. The plates are forty-three in number, and leave little to be desired when the coins are of gold or silver. Even those in copper and brass are, as a rule, in sufficiently good preservation to be represented by the autotype process.

Various foreign publications have already been noticed in the pages of the *Chronicle*: I have, therefore, no cause to prolong these remarks, but, looking at the sad gaps that have been made in our circle, especially among those who were among our most constant contributors to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, I would appeal to all our members who have rarities in their collections, or who think that they can throw new light on any subject connected with numismatics, to utilise the coming vacation in putting together some notes which may be communicated to us in the course of the near session.

A vote of thanks to the President for his address was moved by Lord Grantley and seconded by Dr. H. Weber, and carried unanimously.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

*President.*

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D.,  
TREAS.R.S., V.P.S.A., F.G.S.

*Vice-Presidents.*

ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.  
HERMANN WEBER, Esq., M.D.

*Hon. Treasurer.*

ALFRED E. COPP, Esq.

*Hon. Secretaries.*

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq., F.S.A.  
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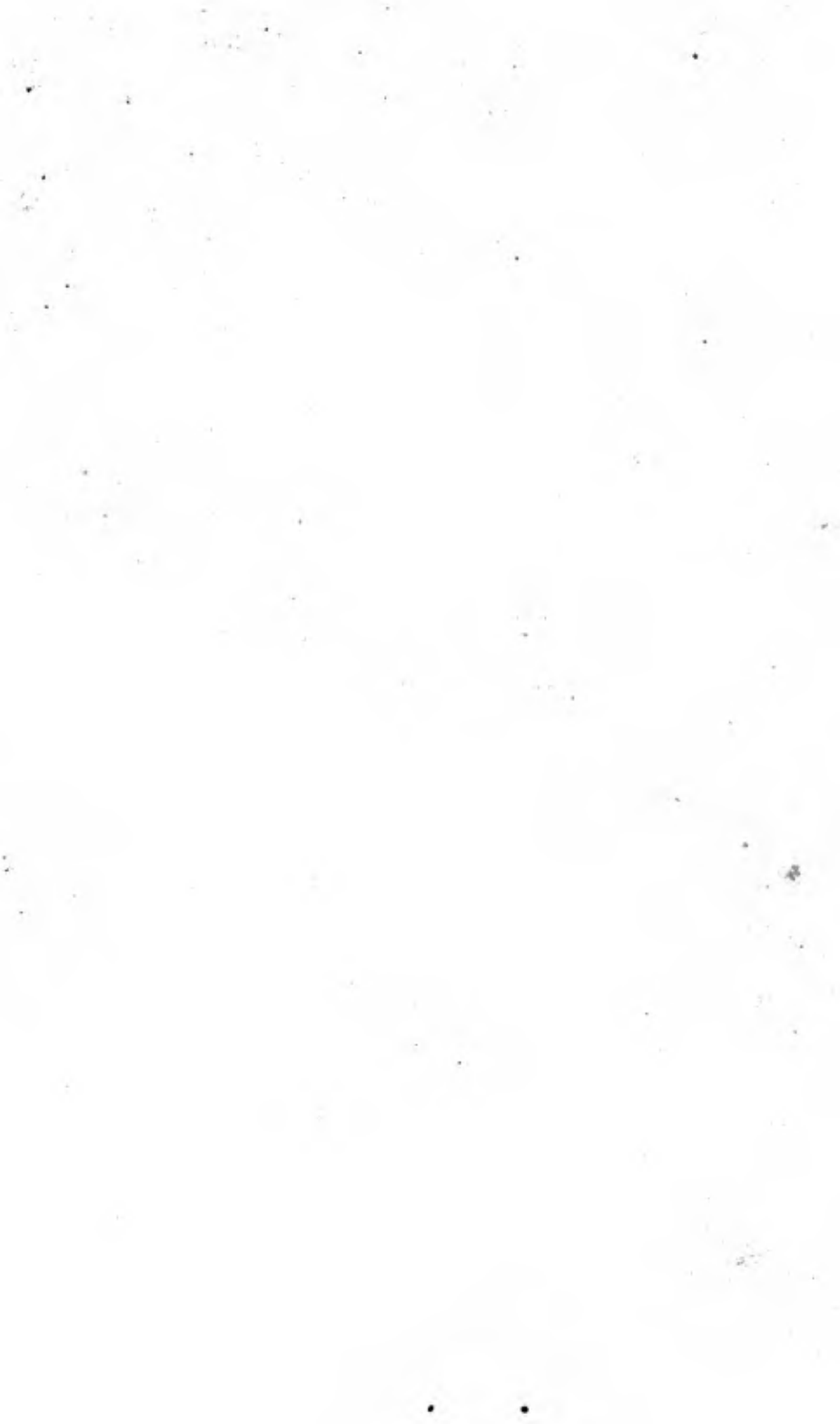
1889 YEATES, F. WILLSON, Esq., 15, Cleveland Gardens, Hyde  
Park, W.

1880 YOUNG, ARTHUR W., Esq., 12, Hyde Park Terrace, W.

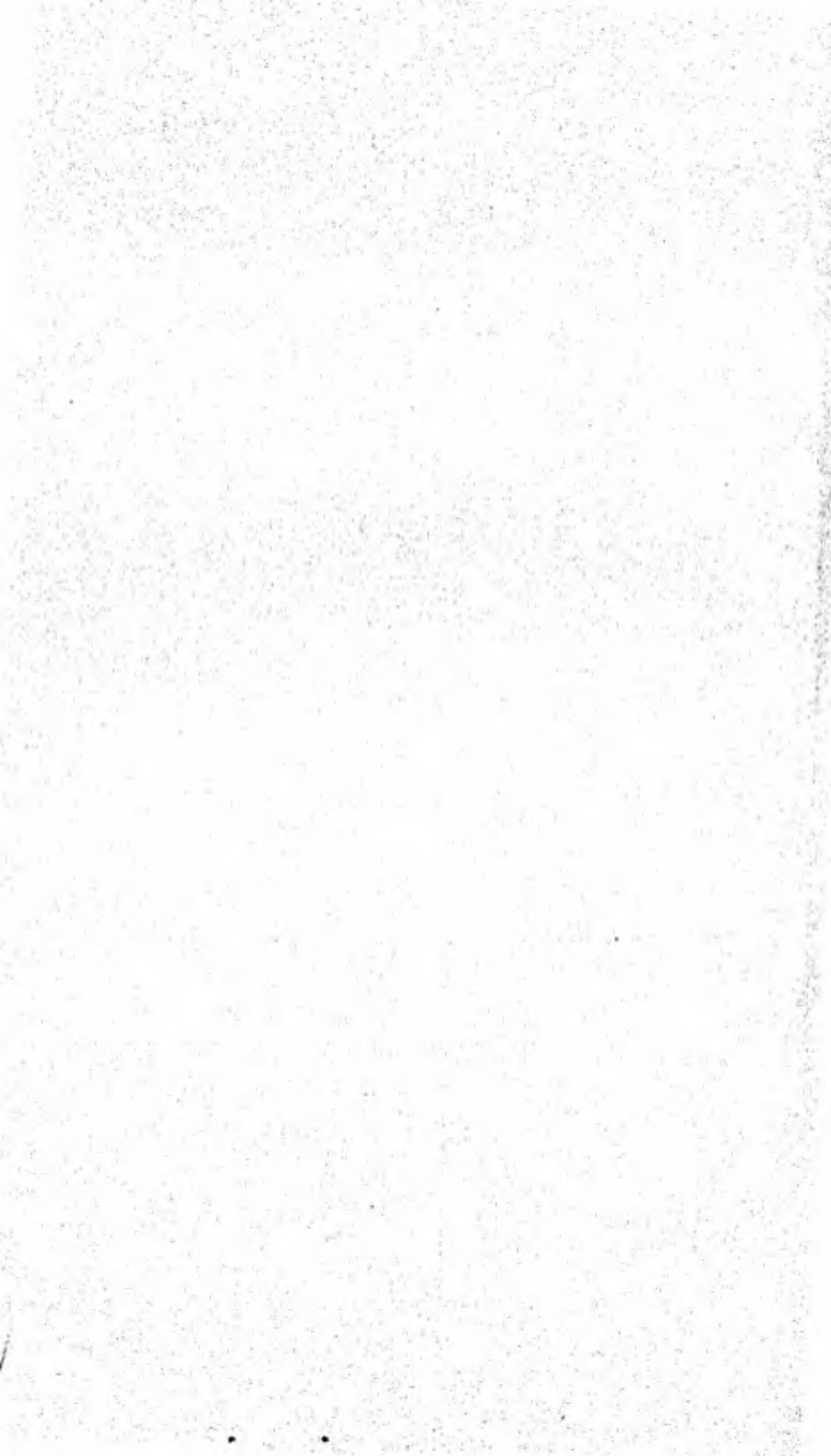
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## ELECTED

- 1891 BABELON, M., ERNEST, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- 1862 BARTHÉLEMY, M., A. DE, 9, Rue d'Anjou, Paris.
- 1882 CHABOUILLET, M., A., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- 1881 DANNENBERG, HERR H., Berlin.
- 1893 GNECCHI, SGR. FRANCESCO, Milan.
- 1886 HERBST, HERR C. F., Director of the Museum of Northern Antiquities and Inspector of the Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen.
- 1886 HILDEBRAND, DR. HANS, Riksantiquarien, Stockholm.
- 1873 IMHOOF-BLUMER, DR. F., Winterthur, Switzerland.
- 1893 JONGHE, M. le Vicomte B. de, Brussels.
- 1878 KENNER, DR. F., K. K. Museum, Vienna.
- 1893 LOEBBECKE, HERR A., Brunswick.
- 1878 MOMMSEN, PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR, Berlin.
- 1893 REINACH, M., THÉODORE, 26, Rue Murillo, Paris.
- 1873 SALLET, DR. ALFRED VON, Königliche Museen, Berlin.
- 1895 SAUVAIRE, M., H., Robernier par Montfort (Var), France.
- 1865 SIX, M., J. P., Amsterdam.
- 1878 STICHEL, PROFESSOR DR. J. G., Jena, Germany.
- 1891 SVORONOS, M., J. N., Conservateur du Cabinet des Médailles, Athens.
- 1881 TIESSENHAUSEN, PROF. W., Pont de la Police, 17, St. Petersburg.
- 1886 WEIL, DR. RUDOLF, Königliche Museen, Berlin.







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